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BLAST WRECKS PALESTINIAN RESEARCH CENTRE

Over 20 Palestinians and Lebanese were killed and 100 injured after a powerful bomb devastated the seven-story Palestinian Research Centre in Beirut February 5. According to later reports, a remote controlled car bomb exploded around 2 pm in front of the Centre. The blast, witnesses said, shook the whole of the Hamra shopping district and sent up a sheet of flames and black clouds of smoke. A Lebanese sergeant, Yusuf Bitar, said later that the bomb was 60 kg of hexagene gas, equivalent to 240 kg of TNT.

There were scenes of panic and desperation, according to Western reporters, as flames shot through the building. The 50 Centre employees were seen using curtains as ropes to lower themselves to the street or jumping out windows from the lower floors.

Ambulances, fire engines and rescue teams rushed immediately to the area to try to rescue the wounded and to extinguish the flames. Teams were later at work digging the dead out of the rubble.

Eyewitnesses reportedly saw a blue, American-made car park in front of the Centre shortly before the blast.

. . . . . .

The Research Centre occupies the first and second stories of the building which also houses the Libyan News Agency.

A group calling itself The Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from Foreigners has reportedly told the Phalangist radio station, Sawt Lebnan al-Hur, that it was responsible for the blast.

A PLO information source in Beirut denounced February 6 the "planned treacherous blast" which severely damaged the Palestinian Research Centre in Beirut. The source laid the complete responsibility on "Israel and its collaborators in Lebanon."

A PLO press statement demanded that the American, Italian and French forces, now in Beirut, protect Palestinian civilians and scientific institutions. The statement noted that the three countries made commitments to protect Palestinian civilians before the PLO withdrew from Beirut last August.

"The explosion caused the death of innocent and unarmed Palestinian and Lebanese civilians. Four Palestinian researchers were killed, among them two women, Hannah Shahin and Safa' Odeh," the statement said.

. . . . . .

. . . . . **people tried to destroy the Palestinian scientific institution — the explosion destroyed most of the contents of the Palestinian Research Centre. A valuable library was destroyed."**

Israeli soldiers confiscated material from the Centre when they raided it last September. The staff had replaced 75 percent of the looted books before the latest blast, according to the statement.

The statement appealed to public opinion abroad to intervene to end such attacks.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat and executive committee sent a telegramme to Sabri Jiryis, the head of the Palestinian Research Centre, shortly after the blast. Arafat said that the scientific and cultural mission of the PRC is "evidence of the originality of the PLO in serving human civilization."

Shate' camp

Israeli military order forbids home-changes in Gaza refugee camps. 'Violators' will be subject to fine, imprisonment, house destruction. (see story page 3)

Yatta Seizures Are Largest Land Grabs In Years

In one of the largest land grabs for some years, the Israeli military authorities seized two stretches of land totalling 170,000 dunums from the Palestinian town of Yatta, near Hebron February 2. The larger portion, up to 127,000 dunums, was taken "for military requirements," according to official statements; the remaining plot, the town residents were told, was declared "state property." The several hundred owners were ordered to evacuate the area within 21 days.

On February 4, in a large single room in a thick walled house, between 30 and 35 landowners, sat in a circle to discuss steps to confront the Israeli order which effectively strips Yatta of all its land. They agreed to make a collective court case against the land grab.

Landowners told **Al Fajr** that they had not yet been given a written order of the Israeli decision. **Jibril al-Jindi, one of six mukhtars in the town, said that they first heard of the order when soldiers arrived in the town in five jeeps. The soldiers told three of the mukhtars, the town's land had been ordered confiscated. The Israelis showed the mukhtars the borders of the seized land, pointing out the area which was seized for "military purposes," and the areas which were declared "state property."**

The area the Israelis defined as a "military zone" is located on the eastern slopes of a mountain range south and east of Yatta. The area touches the village of Samu' to the north and Ma'in to the east. In the area there are 10 independent communities, each consisting of between 20 and 50 families. The inhabitants depend on agriculture and shepherding for their livelihood. For eight months of the year they live on their land in house-like caves, where they also store their crops. Only during the summer, which is exceptionally hot in the region, they move to Yatta and stay with relatives.

The "state property" is located on the western slopes of the same mountain range. It joins Yatta from Ma'in and Baraqah. Seven small communities are housed permanently on this land. They also depend on agriculture and raising livestock.

Land Registration

The land in the area was registered during Ottoman times in the names of 64 residents each representing a family. Internally, the land was divided according to the number of people in each family.

In 1951, the land was re-registered on an individual basis in a Jordanian land registration scheme. The land owners are now compiling their ownership documents before appealing to the Israeli military objections committee.

KAHAN COMMISSION ON SABRA – SHATILA MASSACRE

ISRAEL INDIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE

The Kahan Commission inquiring into the Sabra and Shatila massacre published its findings February 8 and recommended that Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon either resign or be removed from office. The report also had sharp words for several other senior political and military figures.

The principle finding of the 108 page report was that Israel must bear indirect responsibility for the massacre of several hundred Palestinian civilians in the two south Beirut camps between September 16 and 18. Direct responsibility was placed squarely on the heads of

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LEBANON PALESTINIANS 1983 =BERLIN JEWS 1938

by Livia Rokach
Our Rome
Correspondent

ROME: February 9 — "To be a Palestinian in Beirut today is incredibly similar to what it was like to be a Jew in Berlin or Vienna in 1938" — we wrote in **Al Fajr** no more than 20 days ago. Last Friday, the total loss of 22 Palestinians and Lebanese killed in the explosion which devastated the PLO research centre on Sadat Street, Beirut and the 107 wounded, fully confirmed that the long Kristalnacht of the Palestinians in the Lebanese capital continues undisturbed.

In recent months, following the PLO evacuation of Beirut, and despite the brutal pillage of the major cultural institution by the Israeli occupation on September 15, the PRC had become the only Palestinian institution legally functioning in the Lebanese capital, and the only place where Palestinian intellectuals and cadres and nationals in general could still meet, although not without reason, or give appointements to foreign visitors. It had come to symbolise one of the last, perhaps the last, material expression of one largely articulate society in Lebanon.

The bomb attack cannot therefore be considered as just one more terrorist episode, or as an attack against a cultural centre. It in fact represents one more fully-fledged attack against every attempt of the Palestinians to organise and express themselvs as a people, as a nation.

The devastation of the PRC was not, on the other hand, an isolated episode. It must be added to a long series of anti-Palestinian persecution under the auspices of "Amin Gemayel forces" which is guarded by NATO forces and is economically and politically supported by the richer and more powerful Arab states. In more than one way this attack symbolizes the persecution, which continues to take place on every level: the arbitrary arrests, the torture of prisoners, the kidnappings, the deportations, the destruction of homes, the closing of hospitals and schools, the excessive actions by the Phalangist, the continued occupation of the PLO office by the Lebanese Army, the daily assassinations of individuals suspected of "sympathising" with the Palestinian forces.

The perpetrators of the attack on the research centre are the same as those who kidnap, arrest, torture, Palestinian prisoners and devastate Palestinians in Palestinian schools. They also enjoy the same protection by a government which is formally — only formally — headed by Muslim leaders, who also hold the interior ministry. They share, above all, the same objectives to force out the remaining Palestinians living in east Beirut and South Lebanon. In one word, to leave Lebanon.

Last week, just a few days before the bombing of the research centre in Beirut, more than 200 Palestinian families, that is almost 2000 persons, were thrown out of their homes in Sidon in Israeli occupied South Lebanon. The mass expulsion was accompained by episodes of violence witnessed by UNRWA officials.

No less than 14 heads of families have been assassinated by armed men of the Lebanese Forces who presented themselves as such. Many others have been kidnapped. Hundreds of women and children were seen by foreign correspondents seeking refuge among the ruins of the old city, heavily bombed only eight months ago.

The correspondent of the Italian news agency, ANSA, interviewed the families of four of the assasination victims.

"On Sunday January 30," the parents of Ahmad Sebai told the Italian journalist, "three armed men came into our home. They took all the money they found in the house. Ahmad had just come from Saudi Arabia where he had accumulated hard earned money to support his family." They closed his wife in the bathrom and then they killed him with a pistol shot in the neck.

Some days later Layaa, the president of the Lebanese Red Cross was assassinated with a dynamite charge. Another bomb was discovered in front of the home of a member.

Other victims of the same period of assassinations are Amin Amarwa Qader Dannan and Nabil Sarkawi. Sarkawi, according to the testimony of his sister-in-law, was kidnapped Thursday, January 27, by two men with their heads covered. His body was found the next morning in front of the hospital. He had been shot in the neck.

A car with loudspeakers travelled around the streets of Sidon announcing that the city had been "cleaned" of Palestinians. "Palestinians will no more be tolerated in the city," a widely circulated leaflet signed by the Lebanese Forces said.

In Beirut an official communique of the Phalangist party announced the "clearing of Beirut of Palestinians." However, very few journals in Lebanon or Europe carried the news of events in Sidon or the continuing persecution of Palestinians. The question is how much longer will the world tolerate Palestinians suffering in this way?

ANTI-BEGIN VIGIL PEACE NOW'S

JERUSALEM — About 100 Peace Now activists stood vigil February 6 outside EM Begin's house in protest against the passage of eight months since start of the war in Lebanon. Among the banners carried by the protestors were those reading: "248 days of war", "473 dead", "until when?", "Sharon, you can't fool all the people all of the time."

A spokesperson for Peace Now said that this demonstration is one of many to be held this week.

UNIFIL'S LATEST ENEMY— PRO-ISRAELI LEBANESE

Israeli Military officers met with several traditional figures from South Lebanon, February 6, in the town of Qlaileh, to establish a pro-Israeli political force, ... According to UNIFIL sources, several similar meetings have been held recently. The meetings coincided with the stalemate in the Israeli-Lebanese-US talks concerning "the withdrawal of foreign forces from Beirut."

Timor Goksel, spokesman for UNIFIL, charged that Israel is trying to create an umbrella organization for the militias in the South which were organized, and armed by the Israeli army soon after the June 4 invasion. **The Jerusalem Post** said that the eight people who attended the Qlaileh meeting demanded the establishment of regional councils and attachment to the forces of Saad Haddad. They also demanded, as Israel does, that UNIFIL forces be removed from the south.

Replying to the mukhtar's speeches, an Israeli officer, known by code-name 'Abu Tamara' said "Israel supports Lebanese who put Lebanese interests first."

Commenting on the criticism of UNIFIL, Goksel said that one figure, Shawki Abdullah, a merchant from al-Khaiyam, spoke against the UN organisation and "seemed to support the Israeli motives."

Israel TV reported last week that a group of Nabatiyya residents demanded that Israel sign a separate "peace treaty with South Lebanon." Political observers noted that these developments are part of the attempts to pressure the Lebanese government to accept Israeli conditions before withdrawal from Lebanon.

According to a report published by the London-based **Sunday Times**, the UN has instructed its forces in South Lebanon to do its best to prevent the organization of militias.

Responding to a question on this report, Goksel said that there was no need for such a report. He explained that such a policy is part of the UNIFIL's duty in South Lebanon. "We do not allow the militia (civil guards) to operate in our zone," Goksel said, "however, the militias enjoy the full backing of the Israeli army." **The Sunday Times** report said that on many occasions, UNIFIL forces have been harassed by Israelis.

Israel's Attitude on PoWs "Insult to Humanity"

BERNE — "There is absolutely no possible comparison between the conditions in which the PLO's Israeli prisoners live and those in which Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners are held, for example at Ansar."

This conclusion was given by Jean Pierre Metran, the secretary of the Swiss Socialist Party following a recent fact finding mission to the Middle East during which he was given the possibility to visit and interview six of the PLO's Israeli prisoners in their detention place in the Beqa'a as well as some Palestinians and Lebanese who had been prisoners of Israel.

Ben Cohen, Rafi Hazav, Adi Kronil, Dani Gilboa, Eli Abutbol and Avi Monovilski told the socialist leader that they have no complaints about the detention conditions, except, of course, for the simple fact of being prisoners. The Israelis, all between 18 and 21 years old, live in a house in a relaxed atmosphere, Jean Pierre Metran told **Al Fajr**. "They smoke, read books and magazines, listen to the radio, take physical excercise, watch TV and have regular discussions with their Palestinian guards. They have a bath and shower and there is running water. They get packages and mail from families while they are here through the ICRC.

"I asked them if they had been beaten. No, never, not once," they immediately replied all in choir, Jean Pierre Metran reports, "and they seem happily surprised by this fact. They said, 'What a difference from the stories we had heard about the treatment of the prisoners of 1972 by the Syrians and Egyptians . . ."

NAFHA PRISONERS STRIKE ENDS

Nafha prisoners suspended their partial hunger strike, February 2, after announcement that the prison authorities had promised to meet their demands. The hunger strike began on January 23 to protest administration practices and the poor quality and insufficient quantity of food. Prisoners refused all food except bread and water.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a breakdown of censorship cuts for issue 145, February 11, 1983

Number of original articles sent to censor	41
Number of articles totally censored out	6
Number of articles returned	7
Number of articles missing	1
Number of articles mutilated beyond use	3
Number of articles partially censored but used	6
Number of articles passed	18

Jabalia camp

ISRAELI ORDER THREATENS GAZA CAMP HOMES

The latest Israeli 'civil administration' order making selling, buying, mortgaging, exchanging, transferring, building or adding to houses in Gaza Strip UNRWA camps an offense punishable by fine, house destruction and imprisonment, has spread general alarm throughout the northern Gaza camps. "The main news of the hour," as one Jabalia camp housewife called the order, circulated by leaflet throughout Jabalia and Shate' refugee camps during the last two weeks, has become a major topic of anxious taxi, household and UNRWA-office conversation.

According to signatory Rafi Sadieh, chief of the 'refugees rehabilitation branch of the social affairs and refugees department' of the occupation authorities' 'civil administration', the order is a reissue of similar orders promulgated by the Egyptian administration in the Gaza Strip in 1958 and '60. UNRWA employees and the agency's lawyer, Fayez Abu Rahmeh, however, point to differences in intent, emphasis and content between the Egyptian and Israeli orders.

"In the 1958 and '60 orders," says Gaza Lawyer's Union head, Abu Rahmeh, "the decree was clearly issued because there was no planning within the camps, i.e., only to curb excesses." Long-time UNRWA employees point out that the agency requested that "the Egyptian authorities impose and enforce building regulations only when unauthorized private construction in the camps became uncontrolled and obstructive to the general social good." The 1958-'60 orders were directed against violators whose building impeded sewage and garbage collection and water distribution, according to these employees.

The December 1982 order, recently circulated, was issued by the Israeli authorities without consulting UNRWA. Local UNRWA officials, who asked not to be quoted, do not plan to issue any statement in response to the order, "since it's not directed to us, and anyhow, a statement from us wouldn't do anything."

Following the recent order, anyone wishing to change the status of UNRWA camp housing must secure permission from the "concerned (Israeli) officer." The earlier orders referred the camp resident to a joint Egyptian-UNRWA "housing committee" or "camp committee."

Penalties for violators have also stiffened. According to the Israeli order:

"Whoever may act contrary to these orders will have to remove the buildings at their own expense, otherwise he will be subject to **withdrawal of the said buildings** from him or will have to pay **a fine in cash** or will **be imprisoned** or **will have both penalties inflicted on him simultaneously besides and beyond the removal of the building** at the expense of the contravenor."

The 1958 Egyptian order states: "Whoever carries out adjustments on buildings in the camps which were provided to him **shall remove the buildings** and whoever disposes of building materials **will be subject to withdrawal of the said buildings** from them." (emphasis added)

Who Owns the Camps?

Jurisdiction over the camps, though never clear-cut, was not a major issue until the Israeli occupation's political plans for the Gaza Strip and rising economic value of the land provoked controversy. Originally the Egyptian government allocated specific sites, most regarded as waste-land at the time, to UNRWA to facilitate emergency services in the areas where Palestinian refugees had congregated after 1948. Most camps were built on government and **miri** land, though the middle Strip camps (Nusseirat, Bureij, Mughazi and Deir al-Balah) were built largely on private land. In 1960 the Egyptians offered title-holders comparable land in exchange for that occupied by the UNRWA camps or the right to maintenance of land ownership until UNRWA no longer required the areas.

Over the years families have built onto, or, in some cases, replaced, exchanged or sold the original UNRWA shelters. "Though UNRWA retains title to the original shelters," one agency official, who asked to have his name withheld, told **Al Fajr**, "they were in fact given to the families." Another UNRWA official, who agreed that "the UNRWA-built houses belong to the agency," asserted that "the land in the camp belongs to Palestinian residents of Gaza Strip." However, states Fayez Abu Rahmeh, "UNRWA has no executive authority over the camps."

While some Jabalia camp residents wonder whether the December '82 order will be retroactive, others last week could be seen building additions to their homes. "They're rushing to build before the order is enforced," claimed one resident.

MEDICARE

A medical team from the Red Crescent Society in Hebron was sent to Dhahriyeh to treat over 200 persons suffering from cold. The medical team brought food to the village which has been under curfew for the last nine days.

EITAN DEFENDS COLLECTIVE PUNISHMENT

Israeli chief of staff Rafael Eitan acknowleged before a military court in Jaffa February 9, that he issued guidlines last year to his officers to take strict measures against what he called 'West Bank trouble makers.'

The Israeli chief of staff was summoned to testify for the defence in the case of the six soldiers and one officer who are on trial for beating Palestinians civilians in Hebron last summer. They are claiming that their acts did not exceed standing orders.

Eitan admitted to the court that he issued orders to set up detention camps, arrest and rearrest any suspected trouble makers, conduct mass round ups of youths who are found in the vicinity of demonstrations and fining parents of stone throwers. "With Arabs, fining parents worked," Eitan told the court.

Last spring 23 Palestinians youths were killed and hundreds were injured as the result of shooting and beating.

Eitan's appearance was the first time in Israeli Chief of Staff has been called to testify in such a trial. The court is expected to end its deliberations in two or three weeks. (From Kol Israel (English)

Dutch Right-wing Fanatics Stir Religious Conflict

The Islamic **waqf** Institution received a threatening letter February 1, from an extreme right-wing religious group in Leden Holland, called 'The Group for Links Between the Bible and the Old Testament.' The letter, written in Dutch, contained excerpts from the Bible and the Old Testament to the effect that Jews have the "right to a certain place in the Al-Aqsa mosque." A spokesman for the **waqf** said that the letter contained vague references to the mosque but without defining exactly the whereabouts of the place. The letter demanded that the **waqf** and Muslims accept this right or what it called "the link between the Bible and the Old Testament."

Hassan Tahboub, director of the **waqf** institution, told **Al Fajr** that the letter clearly means that this group intends to work for the demolition of the Dome of the Rock and the reconstruction of a Jewish Temple on the site.

Bishara Awad, the principal of Bethlehem College of the Holy Bible told **Al Fajr** that the letter is a "dangerous precedent" aimed at blackening relations between local churches and the churches abraod. He said it also tries to undermine relations between Muslims and Christians.

Israeli Bulldozer Demolishes Unlicensed Hebron House

A 175 square metre house in Hebron was bulldozed February 2 by Israeli authorities under the pretext that it was not officially licensed. Yusri Zatari, the house owner, told **Al Fajr** that three military vehicles and a bulldozer demolished his house around 1 pm.

Zatari said that the Israeli official in charge of zoning areas in Hebron called Kishek and told him that the house was not licensed by his department. "When I told him that I have a license from Hebron municipality, he told me that the Fahas area (where the house is situated) is not within municipal boundaries."

Fahas is three kilometres south of Hebron city centre.

Yusri Zatari had received an order from the department to stop work on the building four months ago. His lawyer, Baheij Jalal, filed a complaint at the military appeals court in Ramallah last October, but he received no answer. "My lawyer was not notified about the demolition," Zatari told **Al Fajr**.

Faisal Juma Falah, owner of six shops and a quarry in Fahas, was told last month to stop work on his property. He took out an order **nisi** against possible demolition from the Israeli High Court in Jerusalem January 26.

Authorities Destroy Biddo Store, Fill-in Well

A store was demolished and a newly dug well filled in at Biddo, near Ramallah February 1. The Israeli military authorities said they were unlicensed.

Saber Yousef Mansour, a falafel seller in Ramallah, told **Al Fajr** that four military vehicles carried out the demolition in the early morning.

Mansour told **Al Fajr** that during the process of the demolition 100 olive trees and grape vines were destroyed. Mansour said he received an order two weeks ago from the Ramallah military department of zoning, which notified him that his 13 dunums of land were confiscated. Mansour estimated his losses at JD2000. The store and well covered a 100 square meter area.

YOUSEF NASR, AL-FAJR FOUNDER

KIDNAPPING, NINE-YEAR MYSTERY

by Daoud Kuttab

February 5 marked the ninth year since the abduction and disappearance of Al Fajr's founder, Yousef Nasr. To date, only one man has been convicted in connection with the kidnapping case. Others who were mentioned in the investigation and in the court's decision have not been tried either because of lack of evidence or because the body of Yousef Nasr was never found.

Yousef Nasr

Yousef Nasr was born in Syria in 1939 to Palestinian parents. He was brought up in Jerusalem by his father, lawyer Nasri Nasr. After graduating from St. George's school, Nasr went to the US were he received an MA degree from Illinois University. After returning to Jerusalem in 1966, Nasr taught until his arrest by the Israeli occupation authorities for "inciting students against the authorities in 1968." He was later dismissed for "refusing to cooperate."

Those who remember Nasr say he was dedicated to his people and wanted to serve the Palestinian cause by opening up a newspaper. After obtaining financial backing from his brother-in-law Paul Ajlouny, a prosperous Palestinian engineer living in New York, Nasr obtained a license and started printing **Al Fajr** (The Dawn).

The new paper, which started as a weekly and later published as a bi-weekly, was instantly popular because of its strong nationalistic line. **Al Fajr's** harsh criticism of the Israeli occupation and the traditional pro-Jordanian Palestinian leaders made Yousef Nasr lots of enemies. Yousef Nasr believed that Palestinians should work to end the occupation, to end Jordanian control over the Palestinians, ...

The Kidnapping

Shortly after midnight between February 5-6, 1974 Yousef Nasr was driven to his home (now the office of English **Al Fajr**) by his then senior editor Jamil Hamad. Since then Nasr's whereabouts have not been known. During investigations, and later, at the trial in May 1974 of Yasir Karaki, the only man who has served a prison term for the kidnapping, Jamil Hamad's name was mentioned as chief organiser of the kidnapping. This discovery, however, as well as the discovery of tangible information about the kidnapping case was the result of a coincidence.

Following the disappearance of Yousef Nasr, Jamil Hamad, the editor of **Al Fajr**, along with Afaf Ajlouny, Nasr's sister, and Mattia Nasr, relative, held a press conference explaining the background of the kidnapping and pointing to the possibility of an Israeli cover-up and involvement of traditional Palestinian leader Sheikh Ja'abari of Hebron in the kidnapping case. **Al Fajr** had strongly critised the then mayor of Hebron who was running what Palestinians considered a kind of 'mafia' operation in Hebron. Ja'abari also had close ties with then Israeli Defence Minister Moshe Dayan.

Mattia Nasr (Abu Joni) gave **Al Fajr** the following explanation of events after the kidnapping took place, regarding the involvement of Jamil Hamad:

"Jamil Hamad's involvement in the case was known as a result of a fluke. Yasir Karaki, who was involved in the kidnapping, was arrested four days later in relation to an indecent act against a boy. While in jail, he called Hamad at the newspaper and later sent his son to Hamad's house demanding that Jamil help get him out on bail. Hamad did not, so when Karaki was out on bail, he came to **Al Fajr's** office and privately reprimanded Hamad. When asked who he was talking to privately, Hamad, afraid his relations with Karaki might be known, said that it was someone who claimed to have information about the kidnapping.

"When Karaki did not show up again, Hamad was asked by Nasr's friends to contact him. After repeated requests, Hamad gave in and called Karaki. When Karaki arrived, I gave him 500 Israeli pounds in return for information he claimed he could get about Yousef's whereabouts. Karaki, however, was seen by me the same day gambling in a Jerusalem cafe. That evening when Karaki returned, saying that he was in Hebron, but could not get any information, it was clear that both he and Hamad were not telling the truth."

Karaki was then asked to "confess" by Israeli journalist, Adi Sofer, who was claiming to be a detective offering clemency if he told the whole story. Karaki admitted all the details of the case incriminating Jamil Hamad and members of the Ja'abari clan who, he said, were to pay him JD1000 in Amman for his involvement in the kidnapping.

The Trial

Jamil Hamad was arrested and held for 20 days for questioning. He was released because of lack of information against him. Karaki, who had given all the details of the case on tape, denied the confession. Nevertheless, the details in the taped confession were easily corroborated by the prosecutor and he was found guilty and sentenced to eight years imprisonment. Nasr's relatives were unable to prosecute Hamad in a civil suit because, in the words of Abu Joni, "no body was discovered."

"In addition to the financial inducements involved, Jamil Hamad had an important motive for being involved in Yousef Nasr's disappearance," says Mattia Nasr "Jamil Hamad, who was Yousef Nasr's top man, had the power-of-attorney for the newspaper license when Nasr was not around." Immediately after the kidnapping, Hamad denied that he had the power-of-attorney and insisted that he was the victim in the affair, losing his job and national reputation.

But six months after the kidnapping, during attempts by the Jerusalem district commissioner to close down **Al Fajr**, it was discovered that Jamil Hamad had sent a letter dated June 14, 1974 demanding the rights to **Al Fajr's** license because of the power-of-attorney he possessed, at the same time saying that Yousef Nasr's sister, Afaf Ajlouny, had no right to the license. Hamad and the Jerusalem district commissioner failed to pull the license away from **Al Fajr** or close it down. In court it was decided this, first, because of Hamad's involvement in the kidnapping were made clear in the court decision against Karaki and, second, because Afaf was the legal heir and the logical executor of Nasr's possessions and license.

Epilogue

Yousef's Nasr's body has never been found. Relatives believe that if it were found, they would be allowed to take civil action against Jamil Hamad. Ali Ja'abari, former mayor of Hebron, died in 1979 without ever making any public statement about the kidnapping.

Jamil Hamad, who many believe was taken off the hook on direct orders from Dayan so as not to reveal any connection with Ja'abari, has opened a news office in Jerusalem and has recently begun to write as guest columnist in **The New York Times, The Washington Post** and **The Jerusalem Post**. Although he is ostracised locally, he continues to be considered by foreign politicians and news agencies as a credible Palestinian personality.

Yousef Nasr's dream of a nationalist paper has outlived him. The success and credibility of **Al Fajr**, which now has English, Hebrew and literary supplements, as well as the Arabic daily edition, is the best tribute to Yousef Nasr's life and work.

JORDAN HUMAN RIGHTS GROUP EXPOSES REGIME'S VIOLATIONS

The Committee for the Defence of Democratic Rights (CDDR) in Jordan, February 2, released a list of 80 names of nationalist and trade union figures recently arrested in a wide-ranging campaign of arrest.

At a press conference held in Damascus, representatives of the CDDR distributed a memorandum about Jordan's violations of democratic rights.

Among other reports, the memorandum states that the Jordanian government recently sent troops and policemen to break a workers' strike at phosphate factories in Hasa Wadi Abiad and Rusiefeh. The Jordanian forces arrested 40 workers, but failed to suppress the strike.

The CDDR also announced the Jordanian authorities' recent dissolving of several women's organizations. The Jordanian Women's Union and the Arab Women's Organisation have both been disbanded.

The memorandum also pointed out that the authorities recently legalised the Jordanian Journalists Association, but that at the same time they have placed new restrictions on the freedom of speech. The license of **Ofuq Iqtisadi** (Economic Horizon), for example, was recently withdrawn. The Jordanian interior ministry has also banned festivals of solidarity with the Palestinian people. Progressive writers, dramatists and other artists have been subject to the regime's harassments, the movement said.

The CDDR has sent a list of demands to King Hussein, requesting that he recognise general democratic rights which are harmonious with the principles of the UN human rights declaration. King Hussein has refused to entertain the demands, they said.

They also report that hundreds of Palestinian and Jordanian members of Palestinian organisations are constantly exposed to the threat of arrest despite the declaration by the Jordanian government of a general amnesty and the policy of releasing Palestinian prisoners from Jordanian jails.

Thirty-two thousand Palestinians were prevented from leaving Jordan because of their political beliefs during 1982, CDDR said.

The CDDR was established in Beirut in 1979 to defend the rights of Jordanians and Palestinians who demonstrated against the Camp David accords.

FRENCH JEWISH ANTI-ZIONISTS SAY: JUDAISM NOT ZIONISM

French followers of the Neturei Karta, the anti-Zionist Orthodox Jewish group, recently protested Israeli interference in internal French affairs. In a half page ad in the prestigious daily **Le Monde**, the group timed their announcement in advance of the forthcoming Palestine National Council meetings scheduled for Algiers next week.

The advertisement, which is the first of its sort in a French journal was titled, "Why do we shed the blood of Jews and Arabs alike?" According to one of Neturei Karta's leaders in Jerusalem, Rabbi Moshe Hirsh, the decision to publish the ad was to assure that the differences between Judaism and Zionism are clear.

French Jews, according to Hirsh, support President Mitterrand's stand advocating the establishment of a Palestinian state in order to further peace in the Middle East. (Translation: Haaretz February 8)

The Dawn
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Let the Guilty Be Tried!

The Israeli commission of Inquiry into the Sabra and Shatila massacres published the report of its findings February 8. Who was involved in the most recent massacres of the Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila? The findings of such a commission we can hardly say were unpredictable.

The commission condemned the behaviour and practices of those Israeli officials who were personally, although indirectly, involved in the infamous massacres. It was neither supposed nor able to dig deeper into the ideology of hatred that led to these practices.

We Palestinians have witnessed more than one massacre committed against us. The years 1948, 1953, 1956, 1970, 1976, and 1982 are black marks in our recent hisotry. This of course excludes the thousands of deaths inflicted on us during the barbaric wars of 1948, 1967, 1976, and 1982, alongside the unreported cold-blooded killings in ones and twos of Palestinian protestors in the last four decades.

Immediately after the massacres at Sabra and Shatila we demanded the formation of an international commission of inquiry with powers to convict and sentence those involved, whether individuals, governments or countries. After the findings of the Kahan commission – which is more a commission to examine and pass judgement on 'Israeli democracy' than to bring to justice those with Palestinian blood on their hands – we are than ever more convinced of our demand. The requested commission should be totally unbiased.

Only then could Palestinians start feeling that human beings in this world and at this stage of history, still have some humanity left.

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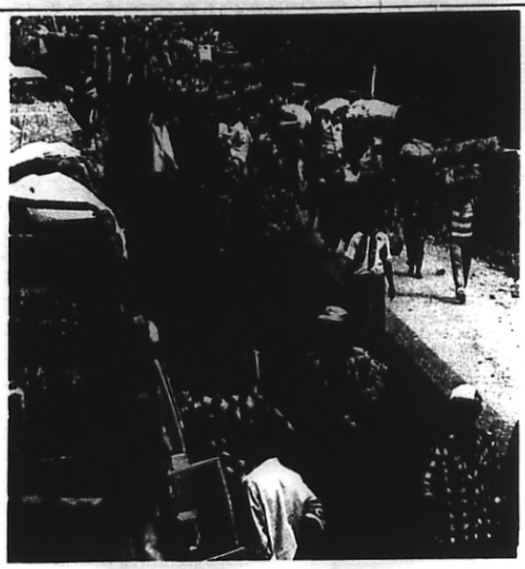
'NATIONAL PURITY' EVOKED AGAINST PALESTINIANS IN LEBANON

by Livia Rokach, Our Rome Correspondent

"We are informed and know that prisoners are being liquidated and that there are many missing persons, but this subject is too complicated. Don't get involved, leave us alone." This is what Lebanese Prime Minister and Minister of Interior Shafiq al-Wazzan told Lebanese lawyer Sinane Barraje, member of the Lebanese Committee for the Defense of Lebanese and Palestinian Prisoners and Missing Persons, last week. Barraje reported al-Wazzan's words at the meeting of the International Center of Information on Palestinian and Lebanese Prisoners, Deportees and Missing Persons, held in Paris on January 22 and 23. The Paris meeting was attended by about 100 rights-activists, jurists and representatives of national committees throughout Europe for the prisoners and missing persons held in· · · · · · Lebanese prisons, concentration camps and torture centres.

The participants at the meeting heard extensive reports on the conditions in which prisoners are held, inside · · · · ·

OPINION



NEVER AGAIN !

ONE ISRAELI'S ANGLE BY PERETZ KIDRON

On January 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler was sworn in as head of the German government. As the world marks the 50th anniversary of that portentous event, the government of Nigeria expels between one and three million "illegal immigrants." Yet again, the television screen depicts columns of men, women and children, burdened down with bundles and suitcases which contain all their worldy possessions; long lines of faces, their expressions fearful, bewildered, numb . . .

Hitler's rise to power inaugurated an era of unparalleled abomination, during which millions of human beings — including six million Jews — were done to death with scientific brutality, while countless millions more endured starvation, imprisonment, torture and degradation.

The horrors of the Nazi epoch are on such a monstrous scale as to defy human understanding — and it is therefore tempting to place them in a supernatural category, as a unique manifestation of pure evil, a static outburst with no conceivable relation to ordinary standards of human behaviour. The Nazis and their collaborators are depicted as devils incarnate, as wild beasts bearing only a superficial resemblance to normal men and women.

Such a presentation is consoling, because, by placing the Nazis beyond the pale of humanity, it frees the rest of us from the need to confront their ferocity as a human phenomenon, with roots deep in our own world — a world which still permits human beings to suffer because of their national, ethnic or religious affiliations.

European Jews were not "illegal immigrants", the overwhelming majority were citizens by birth of their countries of residence. But such legal niceties carried little weight with the Nazis when they stigmatised the Jews — along with other ethnic groups such as the Gypsies — as alien elements to be expurgated from the territory of the Third Reich.

It is worth recalling that the Nazis held power for eight years before the infamous Wansee conference decided on mass murder as "the final solution to the Jewish question." In the period preceding Wansee, the Nazi regime attempted to rid itself of its Jewish citizens, subjecting them to varying degrees of brutality to induce them to leave "voluntarily." Only when these means failed to make Germany **Judenrein** (cleansed of Jews) did the Nazi regime formally decide to erect its death factories at Auschwitz and Treblinka.

By this time, the precedent had been created: years of systematic persecution had robbed the Jews of their human and civil rights, reducing them to the status of vermin to be removed: whether the trains transported the "undesirables" beyond the border, or unloaded their human cargo into the death camps — was, in Nazi eyes, little more than a matter of logistics.

None of the above implies that the Nigerian government would follow a similar course in ridding itself of its unwanted aliens. There is not the slightest indication that the Nigerians have the will, or the means, or the ideological inclination towards a genocidal "final solution" of their illegal immigrant problem. But nevertheless, it is hard to avoid drawing a parallel between this week's events in Nigeria, and the horrors which commenced in Germany 50 years ago.

Racist persecution is not the monopoly of any one nation. Any form of nationalism lends itself to racist extremism. That holds true of Germans — and of Nigerians. It also holds for peoples which have themselves suffered racism — and the Jews are no exception.

Referring to events in Nigeria, Rabbi Meir Kahane, the leader of "Kach", sent a cable to Prime Minister Menachem Begin, advocating that "we should follow this course, and remove aliens who endanger the very existence of the state of Israel. We demand a programme for transferring the Arabs out of the country, with fair compensation."

The declared goal of "Kach" is to prevent any recurrence of the Nazi Holocaust. Its slogan is: "Never again!"

from the Higher Council for Education in the West Bank and Gaza

MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ACADEMIA

The first weeks of 1983 have witnessed an alarming escalation in military harassment of the universities and educational institutions in the West Bank and Gaza. The Council for Higher Education, a coordinating body representing all these institutions, is deeply concerned by these developments and strongly protests army harassments, including:

** Army raids on university campuses, with soldiers breaking into Al Najah National University the night of January 10, and Bethlehem University on the night of January 13. In both cases, soldiers broke into offices, tore down pictures and confiscated books.

** The accompanying widescale and indiscriminate arrest of students.

** A renewed army campaign directed against foreign faculty teaching at West Bank universities and institutions. In three days alone — January 17-19 — faculty at Hebron University and the Arab College of Nursing in Al Bireh were ordered by the military not to teach. At issue is the military's attempt to force foreign faculty to sign a new work permit application which contains a political pledge — despite continued local and international protest concerning this clear violation of academic freedom.

** The **de facto** closure of Al Najah National University for the past two weeks through the erection of army roadblocks and the barring of students and faculty from entering the university.

In this regard, the Council for Higher Education recalls the mid-October promises of the authorities not to place roadblocks at the universities and to "freeze" military order 854 for this academic year. Since the first pledge is clearly broken, the Council must question the good faith of the second. Military order 854, which was rejected by all institutions when it was issued, is designed to implement military control of the universities — the events of the past weeks point to a renewed effort to accomplish this goal through pressure and harassment.

Without these provocations, universities and educational institutions in the occupied territories would have passed a peaceful, orderly and productive first semester. The Council for Higher Education urgently asks that these institutions be permitted to pursue their proper academic functions, free from military interference and that:

** The new work permit application be dropped and application filed for this year on the previous standard form be immediately issued. The previous form contains a signed undertaking to obey the laws of the land and is entirely sufficient for any legal purpose.

** The army must refrain from entering campuses and placing roadblocks at entrances to academic institutions.

** Military Order 854 must be rescinded.

A CAMEL WHO PLAYS THE LUTE

by Azmi Yassin

A recent article in the **Readers Digest** said that the last two US presidents, Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter, heard from Arab leaders in "private sittings" that they were prepared to live in peace with Israel. The expression of this preparedness remained wrapped in transparent cellophane, in an attempt to cover up the scandal, on the one hand, and in fear of harming "Arab solidarity" on the other.

We say these uncovered "expressions" are wrapped in transparent cellophane paper because what they expressed in "private sittings" does not frighten anyone and was naked and uncovered and clear to all who want to see what is true and known!

If anyone believes that the courtship which took place during these sittings is hidden from the Arab people, who are plagued with their leaders, is wrong.

We advise the Arab leaders that if they want to cover up their "nonsense," they should not hold sittings with deceitful Americans because all that happens behind the curtains will be the scandal of the Black House, more than the original scandal.

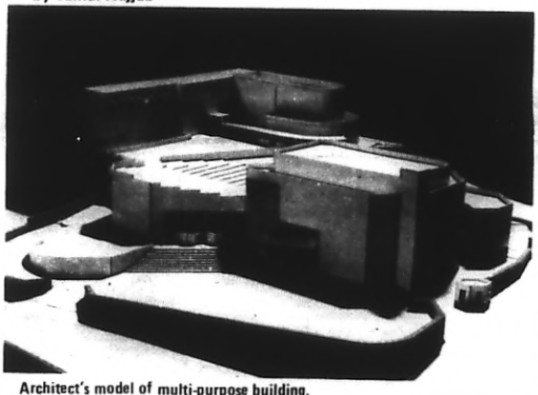
We advise the two American presidents to look for a more interesting subject to stimulate the interest of the readers and not to repeat what was written by some "illiterate" Arab. Otherwise the Palestinian riddle will apply to them: "A camel was asked: what is your profession? Answered the camel: I play the lute."

The two American presidents, like the writer, are like the camel who plays the lute.

Bethlehem's Black Hole: will there be a building here?

Bethlehem University Multi-purpose Building Delayed by Lack of Permit

by Jamal Najjab



Architect's model of multi-purpose building.

For the past decade, Bethlehem University has tried to provide the residents of the West Bank and Gaza with an opportunity to continue their education without having to travel abroad; however, the Israeli authorities have hampered the university's mission by preventing it from expanding its facilities.

The multi-purpose building, which was planned to house the university's cafeteria, physical education facilities, auditorium, garage and the office of the dean of students, was to have its foundations laid in September, 1981 but because of lack of a permit, construction was halted. "The problem is that we had to submit our proposed plan to the Bethlehem municipality which was then approved and forwarded to the military administration in Bet El," Brother Thomas Scanlan, vice-chancellor of Bethlehem University, said. "We never got the permit. It has been denied from 1981 until now."

The military administration gave no official reason for the denial of the building permit and did not mention the matter to the university until Brother Thomas, who became vice-chancellor in February of 1982, was called into then-West Bank 'civil administrator' Menachem Milson's office last July. Milson had called in Brother Thomas to instruct him on the reopening of the university which had been closed by the military administration.

Milson reportedly told Brother Thomas that the request for the building permit was rejected because of the university's lack of cooperation with his office. "I guess if I said publicly that I was in favor of military order 854 I would have received the permit," Brother Thomas told Al Fajr.

The Bethlehem University student body seems far more preoccupied with 854 than with the particular details of the building restriction, but has incorporated the matter within its protest against the Israeli authority's overall actions. "The Israeli government interferes with any university activity, no matter if it is courses, faculty, students or even a building," a Bethlehem University student senate official stated. "The students object to this interference and we'll stand against it until the last." In order to counteract the authorities' actions, the students have held press conferences, demonstrations and strikes. "The student's actions produce little recourse so they are as frustrated as the faculty," Brother Thomas said.

The first building constructed in the university back in 1893 is surrounded by 18,000 square meters of land on a mountain top. The building was built and maintained by a religious order. After a short period the area was converted into a retirement home for the elderly brothers. Later it was adopted to accommodate younger brothers as a training centre. With time, the structure housed preparatory and secondary schools.

In 1966, while on a pilgrimage to Jordan, Pope Paul VI visited the West Bank, and with the aid of local religious leaders, initialled the funding of the university in hopes of retarding the great emigration of Palestinian youth from the area. "But because of many perplexities and the 1967 war, the university was not completed until 1973," Brother Thomas said.

The new university was placed under the administrative care of the Lasalle Brothers, the largest Catholic teaching order in the world and the oldest in this region. Assisted by 15 instructors, three American brothers were sent from the Holy See to teach an initial 80 students.

Presently, the university has a faculty of 120 and enrollment has grown to 1050 full-time and 150 part-time students. The part-timers are all teachers from the surrounding preparatory and secondary schools. Courses are offered by the university in the arts, sciences, education, business administration, hotel management and nursing.

In compliance with the demands of an increasing number of students, the university's campus has had to enlarge its facilities. Construction of the multi-purpose building in addition to the university's library and science building is all part of a three-stage proposition to expand the university physically as well as academically. The proposal was established in 1976, with the first phase being completed with the dedication of the library in 1978. In 1980, the second phase came about with the opening of the science building which was built to supply the students with adequate classrooms.

The university would have finalised its scheme with the completion of the multi-purpose building. "The building is to provide the amenities of the university," Brother Thomas said, "The problem is that there is no place for the students to congregate when they are out of class. The campus presently does have a cafeteria; however, it is far too small to shelter students during the cold and rainy weather. The proposed auditorium is to be used for academic assemblies, student cultural activities and concerts."

Funding for the project has been provided in a joint effort by the Swiss government through the CIPBEMB international aid organisation, and by the Dutch government via an organization similar to the US-based Catholic Relief Services. "The two governments are concerned that their money can't be used which gives us hope that a resolution to the problem may be coming soon," Brother Thomas said.

If the building start had been allowed, Brother Thomas believes much of the construction would have been accomplished by now. "We would have finished the foundations by March or April," he stated, "We would have the skeleton of the first floor and hopefully poured the concrete for the second floor before the November rains."

At present, all that has been erected is a small concrete slab shed, a retaining wall and a huge hole containing the never-begun building's septic tank.

If, or when, the building is ever started and opened to students and faculty, the university facility construction plan will be complete. "Up to this point we have not spent any money on land," Brother Thomas said, "One reason is that there simply is no need for further planning. The university will have sufficient space for its present and incoming students. One must keep in mind that Bir Zeit and Najah are both building new campuses to take in further students," Brother Thomas stated, "but we have no plans for the immediate future."

Swiss Visitors Protest Arrest Of Najah Students Council

The following letter was sent to Al Fajr by recent visitors from a Swiss solidarity group.

Friends;

We are a group of Swiss students from Geneva University who visited the occupied territories in August 1982. During the stay we had the opportunity to meet students of Bir Zeit, Bethlehem and Al Najah Universities.

In November '82 we decided to found the Association of the Friends of Bir Zeit, composed of students, assistant teachers and some lecturers. The organisation's main goal is to establish academic contact between Bir Zeit and Geneva. On the other hand, our association, through its activities, intends to create a bridge of solidarity with all the universities of the occupied territories.

On Thursday, January 6, four students from the association met the newly elected students council at Al-Najah University. On Saturday, January 8, two members of our association took part in a meeting at Al Najah of Arab and Jewish students from the Tel Aviv University CAMPUS group. We will not forget this historical moment!

Three days later we learned that the military authorities arrested all the members of the students council. As a democratic movement, we firmly condemn this brutal act which is once more violating the basic civil rights of the Palestinian people. We entirely support your struggle. No repressive measure will suffocate the voice of the Palestinians. On the contrary, we believe it will make it louder and louder.

Association of the Friends of Bir Zeit

TESTIMONY TO VIOLENCE:

A NIGHT IN HALHOUL

by Zvi Bar'el

"On television, the sheikh was reading verses from the Quran, his right hand covering his mouth a little to form a small microphone. He was kneeling, leaning on his heels, totally concentrating on his chanting. It was a moment of relaxation, of tranquility. Outside it was quiet, even too quiet. In one room, four of my children were sleeping, next to each other on the floor. Only the sound of their breathing filled the room.

"My two teenage children sat near me concentrating on their books. From time to time, they shared the joy of their reading with me. The examinations were approaching and the studies weighed heavily on them. To their good fortune, and to mine, I am a teacher and could help them. My father was a simple peasant and of course could not help me. It was about an hour before bedtime. I wanted to watch the news and then get under the blankets and go to sleep.

"**Iftah al-bab**" (open the door) "**Hada jaish addifa**" (it's the 'defence forces'). I didn't want to hear the knocking and the shouting. Maybe it wasn't meant for us. The banging got louder. Somebody was also violently shaking the iron gate. Once we were frightened of **fedayin** knocking and asking for help. We were afraid one of the neighbours would see and inform and then we'd be arrested the following day. We were afraid, we knew that everyone ends up in prison and yet everytime someone knocked at the door at night, my stomach turned over, a shiver ran up my backbone and my legs felt like they couldn't move.

"I looked in the pocket of my dressing-gown for my identity card. Without it you don't exist. When they take your identity card away from you, you feel as though they've stripped you naked in the middle of the street. I opened the window in the iron gate. Outside were soldiers and civilians. 'Open up,' they ordered. I looked behind me and saw that my children had put down their books, shocked looks on their faces. I knew I had done nothing against the law. It's true there were demonstrations and disturbances at the school where I teach; in the morning, someone threw a stone at an Egged bus and smashed the windscreen. I had no part in it, but you never know what they can charge you with.

"A number of my students were arrested a few days earlier and spent 18 days in prison. They didn't even interrogate them. Maybe now they had started to arrest teachers. And I am also a member of the municipal council. Maybe they wanted me to give them addresses or the name of someone and then they'd leave.

" 'Come out with all your children,' they said to me. 'My children are sleeping, they're all young,' I found the courage to say. After some moments of hesitation I was obliged to go out with my older children. I asked permission to get dressed, because I was in my pyjamas and dressing gown. They did not allow me. Outside I saw that things were already happening.

"Four of my neighbours were standing, faces to the wall, hands raised, being beaten on their backs with clubs, over and over again. Perhaps because I told them I was a member of the municipal council, they didn't stand me up against the wall together with the others. They made me go to a place called **Ain al-Derawieh.** It was not the first time for me to take part in what they call 'concentrating the men.' There were periods when operations such as these were almost daily occurrences. They used to round us up into the school-yard and examine our ID cards. By the end of the day some of us would end up in the military government building.

"When I arrived at the 'concentration' place, I saw that there was a different kind of show going on."

The "actors" describe the "show" itself, as it emerged from the investigation by the chief military prosecutor:

Sergeant Ephraim Mattias: "Officer Meir Baruch ordered me to go into houses and to bring out all the men and boys over the age of 14. Then he ordered me to go with a member of the municipal council to collect the mukhtars from their houses. After completing this task, I noticed the row of men and boys standing with their faces to the wall, hands raised. I also noticed a border guard who was making a boy run on all fours and forcing him to bark. Another resident was counting stars on the orders of a border guard wearing civilian clothes. These policemen had organised a "choir" of local residents, forcing them to chant slogans condemning the PLO, and others like "Long live the border guards and the state of Israel."

In addition to all this, the witness' attention was caught by the interrogation of boys aged between 15 and 16 by the border guard police, during the course of which those being investigated were beaten and kicked. During the attempts to find the one who had thrown the stone at the bus, between 400 and 500 local residents were arrested and taken to military headquarters. There, in the courtyard, a border guard was trying to teach the young men to sing the Israeli national anthem.

Yosef Garalman: "As well as the order to walk on all fours and to bark, the border guard police ordered local residents to slap each others' faces." ("I cried when I saw a son slapping his father," said a member of the municipality).

Lieutenant Shlomo Levi, (the driver of regional officer Shalom Lugassi): "I saw a local resident crawling in the direction of the "concentration" place, barking on the orders of the border guard. They also beat local residents who argued with them and who refused to leave their houses."

Who is Responsible For This Atrocity?

Yaacov Hartabi, military commander of the West Bank: "This operation was the responsibility of the commander of the 'Judea' area, Shalom Lugassi, who gave orders and instructions to the soldiers in Halhoul under the command of Ephraim Mattias. To the extent that 'irregular' actions took place in Halhoul which were known to Mattias, he bears the responsibility because he did nothing to prevent them."

Shalom Lugassi, former commander of the 'Judea' area is today a captain in the West Bank command: "In this event, there was no need for special orders or special instructions, in light of the fact that in open talks to the unit, I gave appropriate instructions as to how the soldiers were to act in cases like these."

It is worth mentioning that in this talk, Lugassi said "we've got to lay into the locals hard."

In conclusion, the chief military prosecutor writes: "Shalom Lugassi, under whose authority this operation was, neglected, apparently, to carry out his task, by not instructing the soldiers. The series of 'irregular' acts carried out by the soldiers could have been prevented by Lugassi directing and instructing them in everything related to dealing with the local population. These omissions constitute criminal neglect by Lugassi in carrying out his task. There is thus cause for him to disciplined."

As yet, Lugassi has not been put on trial. The military prosecutor continues: "The essence of the severity of this shameful matter, which has become manifest, in the beatings and humiliating of local residents — by forcing one of them to crawl and bark; forcing another to count stars; forcing locals to slap the faces of their companions; forcing them to read passages condemning the PLO, its leaders and Palestine; or passages supporting the border guards and the state of Israel; forcing them to sing the national anthem of the state of Israel — **Hatikva** — is ascribed, according to the material of the investigation, to the border guard police who took part in this operation.

"The material of the investigation concerned with the involvement of the border guards in the episode has been passed to the head of regional command of the Israeli police to deal with. One may assume that there will be a special investigation into the matter in order to find those of the border guard who took part and to put those responsible for the irregular actions on trial."

The recommendations of the military prosecutor were made on September 30, 1982. The material of the investigation was passed to the police even before then. The police set up an investigation committee that recommended that three border guard police be put on trial. Within the recommendation there are also reservations that: "Attention must be paid (to the fact that) it was not be clear who the area commander was."

And only now, nine months after the events, and five months after the material was received from the military prosecutor, the conclusions of the investigation committee are being sent to the government's legal advisor to decide whether disciplinary or court action should be taken.

Throughout this episode, only two people have been put on trial: Lugassi's driver and Meir Baruch. Perhaps this is no surprise, for as long as there is someone who proposes (according to witnesses in military court) "ripping off their testicles" (a quote attributed to Israel Defence Minister Ariel Sharon), there is no room to put these people too, on trial.

I remember a proverb that the former Mayor of Heron, Sheikh Ja'abari once quoted: "One rotten apple can ruin the whole crate." It seems that there are those who prefer to hold their noses with two fingers, instead of throwing the rotten apple out. (Translation from Haaretz, January 30.)

ISRAELI SETTLERS IN JERUSALEM'S MUSLIM QUARTER

by Zvi Bar'el

Re-construction of the Old City: left, Jewish Quarter keeps expanding. Foreground, Muslim Cemetary.

In the Muslim Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, work is being done "by the book." With tremendous perserverence, a group of Jews enrolled by the Recorder of Ottoman Associations under the name "Restorers of the Crown" is attempting to bring to life the contents of Aaron Beer's book, **Jewish Torah and Charity Institutions in the Muslim Quarter of Old Jerusalem.** This is a thin pamphlet of 48 pages which briefly summarizes the history of 18 Jewish sites in Jerusalem's Muslim Quarter.

This is the bible of that group in which "an internal awakening occurred three and a half years ago, and which moved its organizers to act for the rehabilitation of Jewish buildings in the Muslim Quarter," in the words of one of its organizers, lawyer Shabtai Zacharia.

However, the restoration of historical sites is only one aspect of its activities. The true intention, according to one of the activists, is to broaden Jewish settlement, and to house as many families as possible "who will be fruitful and multiply, and thus fulfill the true meaning of 'restoring the crown' to its original splendor."

Aaron Beer wrote on this subject: "The Jewish inhabitants of the Muslim Quarter were mainly concentrated on Hebron Street, which is called today Ma'ale Haldia. At the beginning of the century there were 850 families in that street alone, and it may be estimated that there were about 1000 Jewish families in the entire Muslim Quarter. Most of the families had four to six children, and there were families with 12 offsprings, despite the oppression of that time."

It would be visionary to bring 1000 families here, they say in the association. But not, they reassure me, because there aren't enough families which would be interested in living here. "Thank God, there are Jews who want to return to the land of their fathers. The problem is that meanwhile (and the word 'meanwhile' is stressed in the tone of speech) most of the houses are occupied by Arabs. But with the help of heaven, we will find a solution to that, too."

But the finding of a solution is proceeding in slow motion. On the one hand, they don't want to raise a tumult and ensuing negative public opinion. On the other hand, the organisation does not have "unlimited resources with which they would be able to acquire the rights." The work goes on quietly. The main effort is in acquiring buildings in which Arab families are living and who display no great enthusiasm for abandoning their premises. "They said to me: take as much money as as you want, just sell us your house," says Mrs. Rishek, who lives near the Galician courtyard. "They tried to persuade me that there isn't enough sun in my house, and with the money I will receive I will be able to buy a bright apartment. I said to them that one sunbeam a day is enough for me, and that I was happy in my house. Aside from this, I proposed acquiring from them the houses which they already took over. I offered them a lot of money, but they didn't agree."

Mrs. Rishek's house is, indeed, not included in the Galician courtyard — a "courtyard" founded by the members of the Galician community, who separated in 1830 from the "Austro-Galician-Hungarian" community and founded their own courtyard, but it is "stuck" between this courtyard and the "Yeshivat Kohanim" (seminary for training members of the Jewish priestly class), which is located a short way down the street. Anyone who wants to establish a single Jewish strip between these two centres must get the Rishek family out of its house. "The neighbours upstairs already sold to the Jews, through an agent from Nablus. Poor soul, he didn't know they were deceiving him. But I don't intend to sell at any price." Meanwhile, excavation work goes on around her house which reveals layer after layer. She will soon find herself surrounded on both sides by young scholars and "outstanding young students" and she, also, will apparently have no choice but to sell out and move.

Just as occurred in the building of the "Haye Olam" seminary, which is located down the street opposite the "Yeshivat Kohanim", the "restorers of the crown" people also stuck in a finger and finished with a whole hand. "This courtyard," writes Beer, "was purchased from a convert. When the date came for payment, the directors of the seminary were in anguish and dread since they didn't know where they would get the required sum. But the situation is never hopeless, and there always was money to continue payment, and every effort was made to prevent the courtyard from falling back into the hands of the convert. Contributions were in the form of the purchase of rooms by philanthropists, after which a plaque was put over the doorway engraved with the name of the donor and in whose honor [it was donated], and the sum donated."

After many hardships involved in building the seminary, among them a heavy snow which in 1917 caused "damage of hundreds of pounds," an earthquake that hit Jerusalem in 1927 and caused cracks and the collapse of walls, and, particularly, the cessation of contributions from abroad from time to time, the seminary recovered, and "in 1967, less than three months after the June war, the teachers and students of the 'Haye Olam' seminary returned between the walls." The young scholars did not wait for full restoration of the building and began to study there while renovation was going on, accompanied by the banging of hammers and while there was only a gangplank leading to the seminary rooms, as was written.

However, at the same time, these same hammers were banging in the ears of the five Arab families living in the same building. The students used the inner courtyard of these same families to gain access to the seminary itself, which was on the second floor of the building; and in this courtyard the families cooked, did their laundry, and sat on summer evenings to relax after a day's work. On holidays these families were forced to "participate" in the students' celebrations as the noise of the singing and dancing penetrated their bedrooms. What does the "Bible" have to say about this? "Praise God that we have come to this time. Not only are Jews walking where they lived previously, but one hears the voice of Torah study and prayer from the same place, and also from residences of the Children of Israel who are returning to the place from which they were exited 35 years ago."

Family by family, the building's residents "gave up" their apartments. "In the beginning they came to us and threatened that they would confiscate the building and drive us out. 'It's worthwhile for you to sell to us, otherwise you will not get a cent if it is confiscated,' they told us." One family actually did sell and moved to Aizarriya. "We remained," said the head of that same family, who asked not to have his name revealed. "Afterwards they would pass by us, when my wife and daughters were doing the laundry, and they would intentionally play with their weapons. The girls were afraid, and I didn't know what to do. I spoke with them once or twice, and they told me that if I didn't like it, I should leave, and they were ready to pay me for it. We continued to stand pat, but other neighbours didn't have any more strength to continue living there under continuous pressure, and they left after they received a sum of money from the Jews. In the end we saw that we remained alone, and they already were doing what they wanted to the place, so we left also.

"Once the Jews and the Arabs in this city, in this street, lived wonderfully with each other. We would go to them, they would come to us. Their celebrations were our celebrations and their tragedies were our tragedies. Today as if by intention, they are fanning hatred. How can I talk with them when they terrify my daughter?"

Beer: "The relationship with the Arab neighbours was generally good. Proof of this is the fact that in the riots of 1921 there were Arabs who stood in the doorways of their Jewish neighbours and said to the rioters that Arabs lived there; and in that manner not a few Jewish families were saved."

And the hand is still outstretched. In the "Galician courtyard," which can be reached via scaffolding which ascends to the roof covering the spice, meat and jewelry market — where the main commercial life of ancient Jerusalem existed — and opposite the Redeemer church, six families already have "redeemed" several of the houses in the courtyard. Some of them acquired ruins which served as a house garden, on the condition that they improve the premises with their own funds, and some acquired renovated apartments at a rental of about US $100 per month. The renovations were partly financed by contributions and partly by the Ministry of Housing and Construction, through the Jewish Quarter Development Corporation.

Eighteen sites are registered on the map of Aaron Beer. Five of them have already been "redeemed." Two, the little wall and the little wall in **Mahkameh,** are not residential sites. Eleven buildings are still awaiting the restoration of their glory — buildings which are actually small neighbourhoods, which are not being created in a vacuum; this is also a category of settling the Land of Israel, which calls for the Jew to arise out of the old, or if one prefers, one can say: From the new to bring out the old.

(Translation from Ha'aretz, February 1.)

The Director of Shin Bet is appointed by the prime minister who may seek advice for the appointment but needs no approval from either the cabinet or the Knesset.

Shin Bet is responsible for the security of all civilian intelligence and security personnel. Furthermore, it also recruits and selects personnel, according to specific requirements based on loyalty to the state, education, capability and potential, and subject to the approval of the individual civilian service. The military is somewhat more autonomous in regard to security procedures relating to their personnel because military security components, handle most of these cases, Shin Bet, however, sets the policies and standards for military security controls.

Among the 500 officers in Shin Bet are some 100 individuals who have been selected, screened, and trained to serve as security officers throughout the governmental structure. These officers are stationed in the prime minister's office, intelligence and security components including Mossad, scientific institutes, El Al installations and foreign service posts.

Most career employees, a few of whom are women, have broad educational backgrounds and experience. About one-third of Shin Bet officers are assigned abroad early in their careers as security officers where they come under the operational and administrative control of Mossad. Upon return to Israel from foreign assignment, Shin Bet officers revert to the internal security service. Because senior Mossad and Shin Bet officers are given identical training in a combined advanced operational school, their **modus operandi** is similar.

There is a certain amount of personnel exchange among the services. Shin Bet may accept an army major or colonel on temporary assignment or recruit a retiring officer on a permanent basis. All recruits are subject to a thorough background security investigation culminating in a physical examination, polygraph tests, and psychiatric screening. Security checks on native born Israelis are relatively easy to do, for the young Israeli, whose life is well documented, rarely enjoys the luxury of privacy. Police files, school records, university professors, army records, youth movements, political affiliations, voting records, family history, political persuasions and friends are scrutinized. If the applicant is foreign born, detailed immigration records may reveal pertinent information which can be cross-checked. Loyalty to Israel is the principal criterion. If the subject was a Zionist from early youth, he belongs to a special category; if he has never belonged to the leftist parties, MAPAM, MAKI and RAKAH, or to Herut, a rightist party, his employment opportunities are considerably enhanced. It is almost impossible for a Jew to disguise his past when he is in the hands of the authorities since there are in Israel many thoroughly reliable persons from every country which has or had a Jewish community, who can be consulted for information on potential recruits.

The Director of Shin Bet is a civil service Class 1 officer. He has an expense and entertainment allowance. There is a rather insignificant differential between grades which is compensated by fairly impressive perquistes, including living quarters, transportation and travel, especially in the senior ranks.

Methods of operation

Shin Bet operations within Israel can be broken down into the four following categories: against foreigners in general, against Arabs, against Communists and against Israelis. There appears to be little difference in the application of techniques, but a greater deal in intensity, much of which is directed against the Arabs.

The activities and opinions of diplomats both within and outside their diplomatic establishments in Israel are of primary interest to Shin Bet. Generally, the Israeli government tends to regard diplomats as sources from whom to ferret out information, rather than as individuals with whom to promote cordial relations.

WHAT BEGIN AND REAGAN DIDN'T WANT YOU TO KNOW

TARGETS OF SHIN BET OPERATIONS

This week's article on the Shin Bet, one of the Israeli espionage and security services, is the sixth part in our 10-part series excerpted from a 1979 CIA and State Department document, originally published in CounterSpy magazine. Next week: Military Intelligence.

The degree of suspicion and intensity of operations against diplomats is conditioned by the prevailing relations between countries and their long-term diplomatic objectives. Shin Bet operations with the police and Military Intelligence are well coordinated. The Israeli police work very closely with Shin Bet in guarding foreign installations such as embassies and consulates, and in surveilling diplomats, foreign journalists and tourists of special interest. Police officers maintain a 24-hour watch in front of all embassies, legations, consulates and ambassadorial residences. They record the comings and goings of foreign personnel, especially diplomatic officers who appear after regular office hours or on weekends. They also record the license numbers of vehicles in which the officers arrive and depart. Diplomatic license plates differ in color from civilian plates and carry a numerical prefix which identifies the country represented.

The security of the border areas and the occupied terrorities is mainly the responsibility of Military Intelligence, the Border Guard and Shin Bet. Through the use of informants, who may be local Arabs or Oriental Jews posing as Arabs, Shin Bet has penetrated subversive Arab elements including Communist cells and Arab nationalist groups. They have also picked up local Arab espionage agents on their way back to neighbouring countries and doubled up in coordination with Military Intelligence. Shin Bet is continually active in the fight against terrorism.

Aside from the Arab target, Shin Bet is primarily concerned with the subversive elements of the left. MAKI and RAKAH owetheir allegiance to the USSR but being legal parties, they have had representatives in the Knesset. Shin Bet has thoroughly penetrated the cells of the Communist apparatus, following its activities through informants, surveillance and technical operations. Shin Bet agents attend many international Communist front meetings.

Foreigners are potential enemies

Since all foreigners, regardless of nationality or religion, including Jews, are considered potential enemies, a number of informants are placed among Israelis in contact with foreigners because of their employment. In this category are bartenders, hotel clerks, telephone operators, secretaries, taxi drivers, caterers, maids, prostitutes, chauffeurs and waiters. It also includes trade unionists, scientists and others in the educational field.

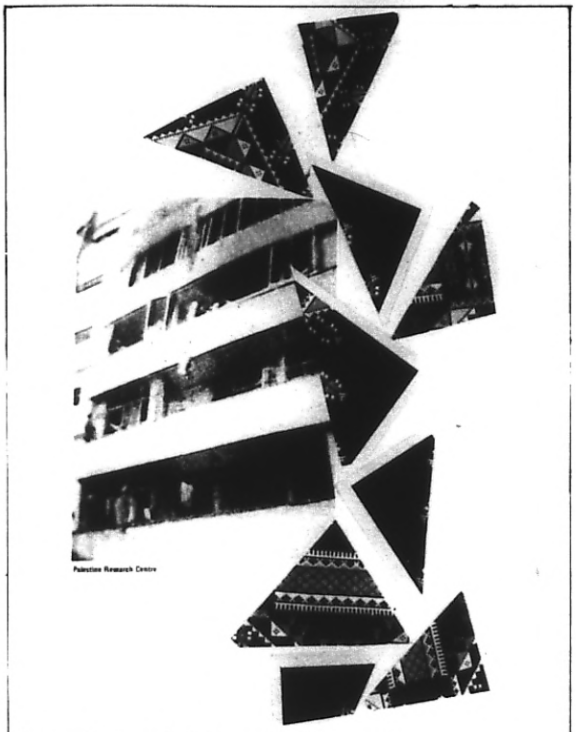
There is an Israeli law that authorizes the police and the security services to pick up and detain for questioning any Israeli citizen who is in contact with a foreigner without official permission or obvious reason such as employment or business. Since diplomats are subject to surveillance, Shin Bet soon becomes aware of their contacts with Israeli citizens. When a pattern develops, and suspicion is aroused, attempts are made to develop further information using wire tapping and other technical aids. It is not uncommon for representatives of Shin Bet to call on the Israeli and attempt to enlist his cooperation. If the individual refuses, the Penal Revision Law (State Security) is cited to him and he is threatened with dire consequences. This usually evokes compliance. The Israeli security authorities also seek evidence of illicit love affairs which can be used as leverage to enlist cooperation. In one instance, Shin Bet tried to penetrate the US consulate general in Jerusalem through a clerical employee who was having an affair with a Jerusalem girl. They rigged a fake abortion case against the employee in an unsuccessful effort to recruit him. Before this attempt at blackmail, they had tried to get the Israeli girl to elicit information from her boyfriend.

Two other important targets in Israel are the US embassy in Tel Aviv and the United Nations Truce Supervision Organization (UNTSO) with headquarters in Jerusalem. There have been two or three crude efforts to recruit Marine guards for monetary reward. In the cases affecting UNTSO personnel, the operations involved intimidation and blackmail.

In 1954, a hidden microphone planted by the Israelis was discovered in the Office of the US ambassador in Tel Aviv. In 1956, telephone taps were found connected to two telephones in the residence of the US military attache. In 1960, a microphone was discovered behind the wall plaster in what had been the office of the Operations Officer in the Jordan-Israel Mixed Armistice Commission Office.

Recently, the director of the Shin Bet in testimony before a judicial committee of the Knesset, stated that Shin Bet makes entries and taps telephones in Israel with some frequency. Reportedly, the only concern of the committee members was with the disposition by Shin Bet of acquired information which did not bear on national security. It is noted that these activities have no basis in law and are conducted on the authority of the director of Shin Bet alone.

The Israelis have shown themselves to be most adept at surveillance and surreptitious entry operations. Men and women frequently are used together on surveillance teams in order to allay suspicion. If a person under surveillance stops to use a public telephone, the surveillance team reports the situation to the control center which immediately notifies the telephone tapping unit and an attempt is made to intercept the call. The conversation or pertinent information is then relayed to the team on street. Shin Bet personnel are experts at entering private quarters where they go through visitors' luggage and personal papers. Special portable camera equipment is used for this purpose and the results are processed in the Shin Bet laboratory. Shin Bet technicians have concealed radio transmitters in phonograph cases, in the false bottoms of coffee cans, and in the bottoms of portable cooking stoves which can be used as stoves without removing the communication equipment.



Interview with Ismail Shamout

From the Rubble of Destruction to Combative Art

Asked by the organising committee of the 25th Leipzig Documentary Film Festival in the GDR, Ismail Shamout, general secretary of the Palestinian Plastic Arts Federation, came from Beirut to attend the festival as an honoured guest.

Shamout, an eyewitness to the destruction and devastation inflicted on Beirut, in most of his conversations and lectures, talked about Palestinian art and heritage; and what happened to them after the barbaric raids into West Beirut.

Palestinian artists have fought hard to develop popular Palestinian culture, its heritage and national identity, he said. They have scratched the rock and built gradually one block after another in the edifice of Palestinian art.

The Zionist "civilized" tempest levelled buildings to the ground. The attackers stole books, documents, portraits and artifacts from west Beirut. As Palestinians, who resisted the barbaric fire, began to collect the Palestinian paintings, the invader came to make a hole in the edifice and to steal them.

They came armed with barbarism and weapons

Despite the suffering, pain and distress that burdened Shamout, for the loss of long years of his effort, Ismail said he had plans for many artistic projects which he would carry out after his return to Beirut. "The massacres left their traces in our hearts, and a split in our artistic works, but for sure all this destruction and calamity will be transformed into combative works and weapons in the hand, leading to our homeland," he said.

The following is an interview with Ismail Shamout, conducted by **Filastin al-Thawra**.

Q: **Could you explain more about the effects of the invasion on art, from your position as general secretary of the General Federation of Palestinian Plastic Artists (GFPPA) and head of the departments of arts and heritage within the PLO information department?**

A: It is known that the existence of the PLO in Lebanon, and especially in Beirut, included the scientific, cultural, educational and information departments. Israeli bombs and missiles hit and caused major destruction to most of these institutions during the first stage of the invasion, and during the siege of Beirut. No one thought that after the departure of the Palestinian fighters and the PLO leadership that the Israeli invasion forces would raid west Beirut, ignoring the guarantees of the major powers — the US, France, Italy and the UN. Therefore we, who stayed in Beirut — mainly 1948 refugees working in the PLO — contacted each other and agreed to save what was possible of the cultural and folk artifacts and artistic documents and transferred them to the headquarters of the PLO, which enjoyed Lebanese diplomatic protection.

Looting, destruction, theft

The PLO offices, all sections of the departments of arts and heritage, the education department, and the Research Centre were gravely affected by the raid.

On the first day, the Zionist forces occupied PLO headquarters and all its departments. The next day, Israeli lorries began emptying the PLO building and Research Centre. This continued for several days.

They took the documents, archives, heritage and national culture artifacts of the Palestinian people. This act is part and parcel of historic Zionist behaviour which aims at destroying and eliminating Palestinian culture.

Dar al Karameh, the headquarters of the GFPPA was destroyed the next week. It contained 400 Palestinian Arab and foreign paintings, archives and a library. I, and other colleagues, dug a hole in the rubble and entered **Dar al-Karameh**. We saved most of the portraits and documents which we took to a safe place — or perhaps we should say, the safest place we could find.

Today when I think of the courage which drove us to enter the building, I wonder! It was really a dangerous adventure. After a few days, one of my colleagues who helped in the process of salvation, was killed.

Q: **What did you save?**

A: Immediately after the raid on Beirut, and for the first time since the beginning of the invasion, we were terrorised. We were orphans. A feeling of sharp fear dominated. I was convinced that some of what we saved from here or there would be taken again by the enemy — and we were powerless — that is the worst.

We were awaiting arrest from moment to moment. But our security measures and the immediate withdrawal of the enemy (in reaction to the Sabra and Shatila massacres and because of escalating resistance) saved us from detention.

Our brothers in the Research Centre found their offices looted by the Israelis the day after the Israeli withdrawal from Beirut. But the PLO headquarters — for political reasons, understood by the PLO — was not handed back to officials. No one was permitted to examine the offices and learn what remained. Later we learned that what remained in the building was not important.

Unfortunately, the Popular Palestinian Art exhibition which had been shown in several European capitals was taken away in Israeli lorries. Twenty thousand cannisters of film about the life of the Palestinians in exile (1950-75) donated to the PLO department of information were also taken. We had taken these films to the PLO headquarters only a few days before the Israeli raid.

A complete archive, or perhaps the most complete archive, of Palestinian revolutionary posters from 1965-'82 and valuable technical equipment were taken.

The place to which we transferred the contents of **Dar al-Karameh** during the Israeli occupation of Beirut was invaded and files were ransacked, some paintings were ripped, but we can say that many paintings are still safe.

Q: **What about the Palestinian Museum of Modern Art?**

The staff saved most of the Palestinian Arab and foreign paintings. The museum building and remaining paintings were completely destroyed.

On the other hand, we saved the photographic archive which is the most organised and comprehensive Palestinian photo archive in the world.

Q: **What about your efforts to get back your property?**

A: We sent a memorandum to UNESCO about the looting and destruction in our scientific and cultural departments. In this memo we refuted all Israeli claims, and demanded — not only that they denounce such acts, but — the return of our documents and paintings.

Q: **Have you entered your studio? What has been the effect of the raids, which you described as "barbaric," on your work?**

A: Up 'till now, I don't have the courage to work in my studio. I entered it to fix it after the destruction. What happened in Lebanon was disastrous, horrible and abominable. In my opinion, it goes beyond the meaning of calamity. I am still disoriented and still have headaches from the raid.

During the siege of Tal a-Za'atar, I was able to draw. I made many portraits during the siege, perhaps because I was at that time out of Lebanon (in the GDR for health reasons). But I lived all the events of Lebanon and Beirut, I don't know what form my productions will take. I am sure that the events in Lebanon have left deep traces in my heart which will be reflected through my work.

Q: **Within the framework of union activities, many projects have been stopped. How is it possible to renew these activities?**

A: What happened in Lebanon, and precisely in Beirut was an earthquake which struck all our institutions, but did not succeed in subjugating them. The aim of the barbaric invasion was the annihilation of the PLO. But the PLO is still alive and it is impossible to destroy it.

All activities have been negatively affected as the result of the destruction. One of these institutions is the GFPPA. The 1982 summer programme was full of international art projects and we made broad contacts. All these were paralysed. We attempt to renew our activities according to the new developments. Our federation has four branches. We have to get one of these branches to the position where it can renew its activities. This will happen after the political situation in Lebanon has cleared.

We hope that our activities will be renewed and we can concentrate and unite our efforts. We have to work hard because our work is an integral part of our struggle to liberate our homeland.

Translated from: Al-Ittihad
January 28, 1983

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The forthcoming session of the Palestinian National Council and the important decisions which it is slated to resolve was the major topic dominating the Palestinian newspapers published in the occupied territories last week. Details of the explosion that destroyed the offices of the Palestine Research Centre in Beirut, which caused the death of 20 and the injury of over 100 innocent individuals, also received topic coverage in all three dailies.

The findings of the Kahan inquiry into the Sabra and Shatila massacres made the late week's headlines. On the day following publication of the findings, headlines were as follows:

Al Fajr: Begin is held partially responsible; Sharon and head of intelligence recommended to be fired.

Al Shaab: The most dangerous crisis facing Begin's government.

Al Quds: Sharon and the Israeli government's fate is decided today, unanimity on the necessity for the defence minister's resignation.

Superman In The US Pocket

The "legendary hero," according to descriptions in the US media, has been embodied recently in the person of US marine officer Charles Johnson stationed in Beirut with the multi-national forces.

According to agencies, Johnson stood in the path of three Israeli tanks, alone, and demanded that the leader halt. When his order was not obeyed, the marine officer approached the leading tank and grabbed hold of the tank-commander's collar with his left hand, whilst in his right hand he held a pistol and told the Israeli officer that they would only pass over his dead body. The three Israeli tanks turned around and returned from whence they had come. The "superman" had succeeded in stopping the army, described by the same US news media, as managing to occupy half of Lebanon.

Israeli sources assert that the American story is exaggerated. We are not interested whether the story is true or false or whether it contains elements of both truth and exaggeration at the same time.

What does interest us is the attention Washington is paying to the event, as if it wants to demonstrate it before the Arabs and American public.

Is this all the US can do to confront Israeli policy in Lebanon and elsewhere? Is there nothing in the US pocket other than romantic, individual heros?

We are sure that what stopped the Israeli tanks was not the courage of officer Johnson alone, but the country to which he belongs and whose military and economic aid Israel needs and who it considers its closest ally. This same country, the US is, for the Arabs, the ruler. But it is a ruler which does not want to anger the other side, but rather confront it, as officer Johnson did, with his weapon pointing in the air!

AL QUDS
February 4

Arab Criminals Or Anti-Arab Racism

The internal memorandum of the Ministry of Employment and Social Welfare on juvenile delinquency in Israel during 1982, and which this paper (**Al Ittihad**) has published sections of, contains shocking facts about Arab delinquency in Israel.

These facts reveal the terrible social effect of the policy of the national oppression of our Arab masses, from 1948 until now.

It has been clear to us all along that the policy of national discrimination, which has led to social, cultural and psychological stifling, does not only mean looting Arab land, nor only racial hatred of the Arabs as people, but also means economic and social deprivation day after day, in all spheres.

* * *

We believe that the Arab social problems — housing, education, social matters, employment, youth problems and others — deserve increased attention. Each of these problems deserves individual objective attention and the struggle of our people to solve it, and that of official and unofficial elected bodies: local Arab authorities, Arab representatives in regional Israeli organisations, the regional Committee for Defence of the Land, Arab social workers, secondary school and university students' committees, youth organisations and others must act within the framework of their own limited concerns in order to shake the ground under the feet of those practising racism against us. The battle of local authorities for equality in budgets for development and loans, for example, must widen so that we all understand that equality in this basic field means: better schools, youth clubs, sports groups, cultural centres and reasonable solutions to the social issues which we suffer from.

We address the conscience of our growing youth and ask: "Do you agree to a future which only 'guarantees' you crime and delinquency?"

We address mothers and fathers and ask them: "Do you agree to raise your children in existing oppressive regime and then deliver them to a life of crime?"

We have fought the battle of remaining in the homeland — in the face of all racist plans to make us leave and to 'cleanse' this land of Arabs. We have succeeded in the battle to stay. The issue now is: we have stayed, but what sort of life do we live in our homeland, a truely human life or a life of the sort that Koenig wants for us? Our people's answer to this question is clear. What is required is decisive and widescale popular unity in order to secure a respectable human life for us and future generations . . . here in our national homeland.

AL ITTIHAD
February 4

An Existing House Will Remain

The Palestinian leaders, during and after the war in Lebanon, proved that the Palestinian people are alive, that their leaders, in their various centres and institutions exist, despite attempts to strike at them. They are working with all their energy to achieve the national rights of the Palestinian people, particularly that of self-determination and the establishment of an independent state under the leadership of the PLO.

A quick glance at the Palestinian arena will show that it is full of action and vitality, with all institutions working and concerned, starting with the executive committee, the central council and the revolutionary council and finally, the national council which is to meet in Algeria on February 14.

A quick glance at the Palestinian arena will show that the Palestinian leaders are continuing to bear the utmost and widest responsibility, whether at the Palestinian, Arab or international levels.

These signs of vitality characterising the Palestinian arena are proof that it is well and that force has not destroyed the existing structure, but that it is still standing and is gaining strength and firmness, no matter how the challenges increase.

AL FAJR
February 7

Whose Resignation?

There is a fundamental issue which we feel we must point out in talking about the results of the Israeli inquiry commission on the Sabra and Shatila massacres which were published yesterday and have caused an uproar in the Israeli political scene, with repercussions in international political calculations. The issue is whether the results of the inquiry can amend or change the Israeli government. The question here, and in relation to the Palestinian issue, does not hinge on the resignation or the sacking of Sharon nor on the resignation of the whole government. What is required is the 'resignation' of official Israeli policy which all Israeli parties, starting from the Herut and ending with the Labour party, through the religious parties and the liberals and the rest, all believe in.

It is within these confines that we consider and discuss the results of the Kahan commissions's report.

AL SHAAB
February 9

KAHAN COMMISSION FINDS ISRAEL INDIRECTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR MASSACRE

continued from page 1

Israel's Maronite Christian allies, the Phalangists.

In its recommendations, the three-man commission, headed by Yitzhak Kahan, head of the Israeli supreme court, found that Ariel Sharon "bears personal responsibility" and should "draw the appropriate personal conclusions." Should he fail to do so, the commission recommends that Begin remove him from office.

Begin himself was found to have paid too little attention to the decision to enter the camps and to have failed to try and ascertain what was going on in them once a decision to send in the Phalangists was taken. The commission did not make any recommendations beyond its determination of responsibility.

The only other cabinet minister to be singled out for criticism was Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. He, the commission found, was lax in not following up reports given him by his colleague Communications Minister Mordechai Zipori that there was a massacre taking place. There was no recommendation for action to be taken against Shamir. Similarly, the head of Mossad, whose name cannot be published, was found to have been less than concientious in following up reports of the activities of the Phalangists. His organisation was also slated for giving a mistaken intelligence assessment of the character and possible activities of the Phalangist forces.

The military upper echelons were much harder hit, however. The commission arrived at "grave conclusions" regarding acts of "commission and ommission" by Israeli chief of staff Raphael Eitan. Noting that the general is due to retire in a few months, there was no recomendation for specific action to be taken against him.

Director of Military Intelligence, Yehoshua Saguy, was found to have committed various "extremely serious ommisssions" and the commission recommended that he be dismissed. Divisional Commander Amos Yaron, who commanded the Israeli troops in the Beirut area, was also found to have failed in his duty and the commission recommended that he be removed from his post as a field commander and that the decision not be reconsidered for three years.

The only senior officer investigated in the report to come off unscathed was Northern District Commander Amir Drori who was in operational command of Israel's invasion forces. He was commended for taking some action as soon as he heard of the massacre. He was criticised, however, for not doing enough.

Almost one half of the tightly printed document describes events in the camps on those days. The second half ascribes responsibility for the events and closes with short recommendations. The commission reported that it had decided that investigations should concentrate on senior echelons only. "Our consideration was to deliberate and reach conclusions with regard to the major and important things connected with the aforementioned events and to the questions and responsibility of those persons whose decisions and actions could have decisively influenced the course of events."

Thus the body of the report deals primarily with the activities of the senior military and political figures through the period of the massacre.

The commisssion opened its report with an assessment of the Phalangists. Noting the history of the organisation and its developing relations with the Israelis, the commission points out that "Phalangist leaders proposed removing a large portion of the Palestinian refugees from Lebanese soil, whether by means of persuasion or other means of pressure. They did not conceal their opinion that it would be necessary to resort to acts of violence . . . "

This theme was repeated again and again in the report and was largely the justification for dismissing claims by political leaders in Israel that they could not have known that the Phalangists would commit a massacre if they allowed them into the camps.

The report also points out that there were contradictory assessments of the Phalangists from two of Israel's intelligence units. The Mossad, they said, which historically forged the links between Israel and the Maronite organisation "felt positively about strengthening relations." Military intelligence, on the other hand, pointed to "a danger in the link . . . because of this organisation's lack of reliability . . . "

Mossad's assessment was accepted as the basis for working relations and was said to have led to the military intelligence operatives almost "washing their hands" of responsibility for monitoring the Israeli allies' activities. The commission found that several reports were available (they were classified and thus not published in the report) which reinforced the feeling in the intelligence community particularly that "in the event that the Phalangists had an opportunity to massacre Palestinians, they would take advantage of it."

Such an opportunity came when, on September 14, Bashir Gemayel was assassinated and the Israelis made the decision to move into Beirut.

The way in which the decision was taken — in a series of conversations between Sharon, Begin, Eitan and various security officials seems, according to commission findings, to have been standard operating procedure for the Israeli elite at the time. Time and again the commission found that major decisions were taken in poorly recorded telephone and face to face conversations between senior politicians and army staff. Formal cabinet discussion, they reveal, was perfunctory and post facto. So although the Israeli army had a long-standing agreement to take West Beirut in conjunction with the Phalangists, Begin was not appraised of any consideration of a Phalangist role at that stage of the process.

The decision to send the Phalangists into the camps was taken at a meeting of senior staff which had heard from the chief of staff that fighting had ended in Beirut and that "the city is in our hands." Liason meetings were held between Amir Drori and Phalangist commanders and a forward command post was established to coordinate with the Phalangists while they were in the camps.

As the senior Israeli political and military figures flitted between Beirut, South Lebanon, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem — and the commission report gives a startling account the travels of top Israelis — the massacre commenced almost immediately.

The commission discounts reports that the Israelis could see into the camps from their forward command post.

First suspicions of killings emerged two hours after the Phalangists went into Sabra and Shatila. An unnamed intelligence official discovered that when asked by a militiaman in the camp what to do with 45 prisoners, the officer liasing with the Israelis said "do the will of God." A lieutenant Elul said that about the same time he reported a radio conversation between a Phalangist officer in the camps and Elie Hobeika, the Phalangist intelligence chief. Hobeika reportedly told his officer, who was inquiring what to do with 50 women and children he was holding, "This is the last time you ask me a question like that, you know exactly what to do." Yaron said he had understood that the 50 women and children and the 45 prisoners were the same group.

Next news came from the liason officer who told several Israelis in the forward command post dining room that 300 people had been killed including civilians.

That evening, a cabinet session discussed the move into Beirut and the entry of the Phalangists into the camps. Discussion was perfunctory and even when David Levy, Israel's deputy prime minister, raised his fear that a "slaughter" was going to take place, no one discussed the matter.

The next morning a mysterious note appeared on a table at the Northern Command situation room in Aley. It was unsigned and read:

"During the night the Phalangists entered the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Even though it was agreed that they should not harm civilians they 'butchered.' They did not operate in an orderly fashion but dispersed. They had casualties, including two killed . . . "

Over the next few days such reports were forthcoming from various sources and largely ignored by senior officials. The commission noted that during the whole of the period no information on the reports of what the Phalangists were up to was given to Begin.

The commission goes on to document the confused reports released by the Israeli establishment once evidence of the massacre came to light by the entrance of journalists into the camps after the Phalangist departure.

The commission also reveals that immediately following the reports of a massacre the cabinet and the army conducted investigations into the affair. These interim conclusions could be summed up with a quote from General Yaron who told army colleagues during their discussion of the events, "I admit here, from this rostrum, we were all insensitive. That's all."

The commisssion reiterates its attribution of responsibility to the Phalangist forces. It dismisses as "groundless . . . and baseless libel" allegations which are widespread outside the country that Israelis were involved in the actual killing. Commission members, however, go on to dismiss cabinet assertions that Israel's hands are clean because no one found them involved. Policy makers and executors were "obligated to forsee as probable" the massacre. They also charge that when reports of massacres arrived "no proper heed was taken . . .the correct conclusions were not drawn from them and no energetic and immediate actions were taken to restrain the Phalangists . . ."

The commission then proceeded to attribute individual responsibility for this dereliction of duty. (for excerpts see page 16)

'NATIONAL PURITY'...

continued from page 5

parliament. Attorney Veron, whose visa was issued by the Lebanese embassy in Paris, said she told Colonel Farah she was scheduled to meet Shafiq al-Wazzan the next day. Unimpressed by this fact, Colonel Farah had her accompanied to a security service stall in east Beirut where she spent the night under heavy guard before being taken early the next morning to the airport and forced onto the first plane to Paris.

Her passport was stamped with a security service order prohibiting her re-entry to Lebanon in the near future. Attorney Veron also reported that a young American Quaker woman had also been detained the same day and brought over to Colonel Farah's headquarters. The woman was later released and told to report back the next day. Attorney Veron overheard Colonel Farah telling her that she would be permitted to stay in Beirut only if she agreed to regularly supply information to the Lebanese security services.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Mukhmas resident surveys land slated for confiscation/SF

February 1, 1983

WOUNDED AND JAILED

NABLUS — The military court ordered Amjad Rushdi Hanbali to pay a fine of IS 25,000 or face five months imprisonment, with one and a half years suspended for three years, after finding him guilty of attacking a soldier. Hanbali was seriously injured in the events of last June.

NO SLEEP FOR THE WORKERS

Holon police arrested 14 Arabs in the industrial area of the town on the pretext that they had no permits to stay in the area overnight.

February 2, 1983

STONER FINED

NABLUS — The military court fined student Abdullah Mohammad Naif Yassin from Kadri Tuqan school IS60,000 after finding him guilty of throwing stones at military vehciles.

TAX RAIDS

EL-BIREH — The tax and customs authorities have demanded that bakery-owners in Ramallah must keep official accounts and receipts of all sales.

FIRST GRAB OF THE WEEK

JERUSALEM — Israeli bulldozers have begun clearing six dunums of land, near the Jerusalem Electricity Company generator, which belongs to Shu'fat residents and is located on the main road. The reasons for the work are not known.

GRAB 2

RAMALLAH, DEIR DIBWAN — The Israeli authorities have sent notifications of land confiscation to a number of landowners in Deir Dibwan. The notification asks them to apply to the military authorities for compensation. The 3000 dunum area of land belongs to 150 families and is being confiscated for "public use."

The residents assert that there can be no compensation for their land and that they will accept no deals.

GRAB 3

JERUSALEM — The Israeli military authorities confiscated 28,000 dunums of agricultural land adjacent to the village of Salim near Nablus.

The residents have refused financial compensation and instead are taking the matter to court.

PYLONS DOWNED AGAIN

HEBRON — Settlers from Kiryat Arba destroyed four electricity pylons belonging to Hebron municipality in the Qizoun area by using wirecutters, disconnecting electricity from the area.

The Hebron military authorities have ordered the closure of the area in which four electricity pylons were felled near the settlement of Kiryat Arba.

Israel Radio added that the Israeli forces had 'solved' the problem without violent clashes occurring between Kiryat Arba settlers and workers from Hebron municipality who were trying to re-erect the pylons.

GRAB APPEALED

JERUSALEM — Lawyer Felicia Langer has appealed to the High Court on behalf of 35 residents of Zabadeh village in the Jenin district for an injunction to prevent the Israeli authorities from confiscating 1000 dunums of village land. Langer has already obtained an order from the same court to stop work on Zababdeh land.

TEACHER FIRED

HEBRON — The West Bank education officer sacked Firial Rashad Abu Heikal from her post as teacher in the Samu' girls secondary school as of February 1, 1983. No reason for the dismissal was given.

PRISON VACATED

KFAR YONA — The transfer of all prisoners from Kfar Yona prison to Damoun, Beer Sheba and Ramle prisons was completed.

STUDENTS PROTEST

SOUTH LEBANON — UNRWA school students in Sidon held a protest demonstration in which they demanded a school building instead of the present tent. Their school was destroyed during the Israeli invasion.

February 3, 1983

BAKER INJURED

HEBRON — Awni Da'na, 19, from Hebron was wounded after an over-heated sesame seed oven exploded. He was immediately rushed to Alia hospital and then taken to Makassed hospital in Jerusalem.

VAT TAX

VAT officials have launched a wide-scale tax collection campaign in Bethlehem.

Tax officials in Nablus raided the central vegetable market and confiscated the account books of companies and stores to charge them VAT.

CURFEW TOLL

According to **Yediot Ahranot**, over 20 people were detained in Dhahriyeh last week. A curfew is still in force five days after unidentified persons threw stones at an Israeli military vehicle which resulted in an Israeli woman passenger being seriously wounded in the head. 'Security' forces are continuing to search the village.

HOUSE DESTROYED

HEBRON — The Israeli authorities demolished the house of Ibrahim Fadl Jaber near the settlement of Kiryat Arba. The three room house was home to 12 persons.

MERCHANTS FINED

JERUSALEM — The Israeli magistrates court fined a number of Jerusalem merchants IS5000 for closing their shops during strikes.

February 4, 1983

ISRAELIS SWEEP LEBANON

Lebanese newspapers reported that Israeli forces in South Lebanon are carrying out "comprehensive combing operations" in villages in the area. This step, they said, indicates Israel's intention of remaining in the South and strenthening its hold there.

DOCTOR FREED

HEBRON — The authorities released Dr Mahmoud al-Barbawi after five months' detention on security charges.

PLANS GRAB

Travellers to Amman via the Allenby bridge report that the Israeli searchers on the bridge have begun to destroy building permits and blueprints taken by residents to Amman get loans for building.

INA'SH AL-USRA POLL

EL-BIREH, RAMALLAH — Elections for a new administration at In'ash al-Usra **(the Society for the Protection of the Family)** for 1983-84 were held at the society's headquarters.

February 5, 1983

LAND GRAB 4

BEITOUNIA, RAMALLAH — The Israeli authorities have issued an order for the closure and expropriation of hundreds of dunums of land in the Jabal Maidarous area belonging to Beitounia, Ain Kinia, Kufr Na'ameh, Deir Izi', Janiya and Ain Arik.

PRISONER KILLED

GAZA — Prisoner Mohammad Mahmoud Abu Shakir was killed in Gaza prison. Israel Radio said that a prisoner named Nasser Abd al-Aziz Musleh informed the prison governor that he had killed him. It was rumoured that Abu Shakir was working with the Israelis.

BRIBERY ARREST

TEL AVIV — Shmuel Dutin, head of the licensing department in Haifa was arrested on bribery charges. Dutin was formerly military governor of the Golan Heights and commander of a 'minorities' unit in the Israeli army.

INSIDER SPEAK OUT

UM AL-FAHM — Abna al-Balad movement issued a statement on current land confiscation: "Thousands of dunums of land are being confiscated in the West Bank and Gaza Strip to establish settlements and implement the plan of settling 60,000 settlers next year. There are also operations to confiscate land inside the 'green line,' from Palestinian Arabs."

PRISONERS HUNGER STRIKE

SOUTH LEBANON — Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners in Ansar in South Lebanon declared a hunger strike to protest the bad treatment they receive there. The prisoners say they lack food, water, medical services and decent housing. There are an estimated 9000 plus Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners in the prison camp.

ISRAEL PAPER FOR LEBANON

TEL AVIV: AFP — The first issue of an Israeli newspaper aimed at Lebanese and distributed free of charge in Lebanon, published by the Israeli army, has appeared recently in Kiryat Bialik near Haifa.

The paper, named **Sada al-Shamal** (Northern Echo) has 12 pages of articles and information in English, French and Hebrew.

The paper also carries advertisements from large Israeli

Scene from Yatta. 170,000 dunums announced confiscated from this village February 2/SF

companies and tourist agencies, instructions on formalities at the Israeli-Lebanese borders and a small glossary containing 50 useful Arabic words (sic)!

February 6, 1983

ISRAEL SHELLED

TEL AVIV — Israeli Chief-of-Staff Raphael Eitan confirmed reports of rocket fire from South Lebanon near Israel's northern border. Eitan said that one of three rockets fell on Lebanese territory two and a half kilometers from an Israeli settlement near Metulla.

NEW SETTLERS

WEST BANK — 4000 Israeli settlers are to be transferred to Emmanuel settlement in the northern West Bank in three months time, it was announced today. Nine hundred housing units are currently under construction in this settlement.

SETTLEMENT OF MINISTRY

Employees and workers at the Israeli ministry of communications are currently building a settlement in the West Bank near Tekoa settlement to house 400 people. This is the second settlement to house employees and workers of this ministry.

DEMONSTRATORS SENTENCED

NABLUS — The military court sentenced 10 youths from Balata refugee camp to six months suspended imprisonment and a fine of IS20,000 after finding them guilty of demonstrating.

UNRWA SLAMMED

KHAN YUNIS — Residents of the town are complaining that UNRWA is dumping garbage collected from the refugee camp near the town cemetry. The residents are asking that the garbage be moved to an area designated for this purpose.

BOMB

An explosive device went off in West Jerusalem in the Katamon area, at 4 am in a car parked in a parking lot. Nobody was injured.

MUKHTARS BLACKLIST

The Jordanian authorities have decided not to accept the signatures of West Bank mukhtars appointed after 1967, unless they have approved them.

February 7, 1983

SETTLEMENT STATISTICS

TEL AVIV — According to statistics published by the ministry of housing and construction, the number of existing housing units on which settlers are currently building in the West Bank and Gaza Strip totals 8867 units.

PALESTINE BANK'S NEW DATE

GAZA — The Israeli High Court in Jerusalem has set May 29 as the date for reviewing the appeal of the Bank of Palestine, Gaza, for permission to deal in foreign currency.

FRAUDULENT GOVERNOR

A charge has been filed with the military court against Shalom Mitzpi, former military governor of Tulkarm, for taking bribes and embezzling funds, "irresponsible and inappropriate behaviour," and disregarding military orders.

SHEEP GRAB

The Israeli authorities confiscated herds of sheep in several 'closed' areas in the West Bank. Fines for recovery of the flocks are levied at JD3-5 per head.

LITERATURE GRAB

Israeli forces broke into the offices of Tulkarm film makers Hussam al-Din Hantash and Wasfi Youssef and confiscated several magazines. The co-owners were arrested.

February 8, 1983

NABLUS DEMO

A demonstration took place in Nablus. Israeli forces imposed a curfew on the Qassabeh quarter and arrested a number of demonstrators.

COUNCIL ELECTION?

Zafir al-Masri, head of the Nablus chamber of commerce, said that a meeting has taken place at the invitation of the chamber of commerce between them and the municipal council, during which talks and discussions were held on the situation in the town, the problems of residents and the steps which should be taken to enable the municipality to return to performing its usual tasks.

MEMBERSHIP=JAIL

GALILEE — The military court has sentenced Mohammad 'Azm Fahd Jabbar to two months imprisonment and a fine of IS10,000 after finding him guilty of belonging to a Palestinian organisation. The court also sentenced Mohammad Faris Hashlamoun, a student from Surif, to six months imprisonment after finding him guilty of similar charges. Musa Safi Siy'ara from Kharas got 14 months imprisonment on the same charge and for planning to kill an intelligence officer. He was arrested four months ago while crossing Allenby bridge. The court released Mohammad Moughrabi after three months detention. He was found guilty of incitement.

NO GO FOR WOMEN

Women from Jenin were prevented from crossing the Damia bridge. Wishah Abdullah Zoughaibi and Hala Anzawi, both Jenin high school students, were arrested. No reason was given.

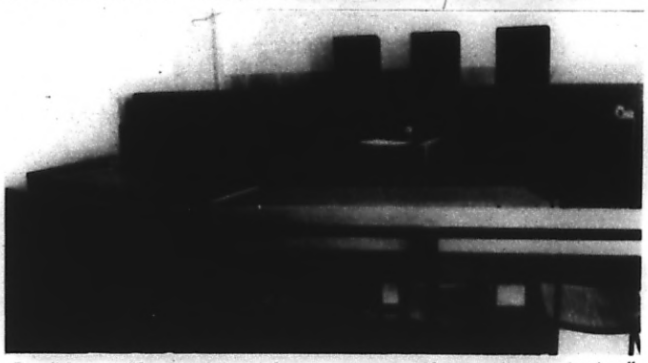
CAMP LEAGUES COMING?

Al Fajr reports that the 'civil administration' is attempting to form committees similar to the Village Leagues, in refugee camps. A meeting for this purpose took place recently in Jalazoun refugee camp. Israeli forces surrounded the camp and imposed a curfew during the meeting.

VAT ON CARS

JERUSALEM — Israeli VAT officials raided all car-repair garages in the Wadi Joz area in Jerusalem, causing work to stop.

Ramallah Municipal Employees Discover Tax Embezzlement



Ramallah court: "If convicted, the two former employees could face up to three years in prison."

by Daoud Kuttab

The Ramallah magistrates court began hearing the case against two municipal employees accused of forgery, theft and embezzlement, January 28. The two, Atta Musa Khalil from Issawiyeh and Suheil Salim Laham from Ramallah, were appointed by the Israeli military **charge d'affairs** of the Ramallah muncipality following the sacking of Mayor Karim Khalaf by Menachem Milson's 'civil administration' last spring.

From The Start

Immediately following the firing of Khalaf and Nablus Mayor Bassam Shaka'a in March, 1982, Israeli officials were appointed to take over the administration of the two West Bank municipalities. In Ramallah and Nablus, municipal council members refused the mayorship and insisted on the return of the legitimate mayors of their cities. At the time, workers, clerks and employees as well, refused to return to work under the authority of Israeli officials. In Ramallah, Moshe (Maurice) Biton was appointed **charge d'affairs** of the municipality and he started looking for persons willing to work with him. Among those hired by Biton were Atta Khalil and Suheil Laham. They were immediately appointed tax collector and assistant accountant, respectively.

Legitimate Employees Smell Trouble

On November 1, 1982, the legitimate employees and clerks of the Ramallah municipality agreed to return to work with the tacit agreement of the elected mayor and council. It wasn't long after their return that they started to feel that something fishy had been going on during their absence.

The first sign of irregularity came when Malkon Dubitshian, owner of a photo-shop, came in to the muncipality claiming he had paid his yearly taxes twice. To prove his point he presented two receipts issued by the Israeli appointed muncipal employees. Municipal employees couldn't find the receipt book from which the receipts were issued. It was then, say the legitimate Ramallah employees, Suheil Laham took out of his own pocket the amount of **money paid twice** and reimbursed the complaining taxpayer.

A similar incident was repeated a few days later when Yousef Khoury came into the municipality to check his tax status. His tax receipt, number 7001, could not be matched with the available receipt books. When the Israeli **charge d'affairs** was informed of the discrepancy he called in Laham and Khalil and demanded they fetch the missing receipt book. At the same time Moshe Biton ordered a tax auditor to go over all muncipality record books for the period since his takeover.

The auditors report issued 40 days later showed three types of irregularities:

* The disappearance of 35 receipt books; 26 receipts missing from current receipts books and nine receipt books with either original receipts or tax receipts missing. Some receipts issued did not match the copies. A receipt for IS1,390 was recorded in the carbon copy as IS390.

* Another area of irregularity, according to the auditor's report, was the discrepancy between the total receipts on record and the total of the bank deposit slips. According to the auditor the deficit totalled IS117,000.

The auditor's report concluded that the individuals who were collecting taxes during the period between March 15 and November 15 had discounted many post-dated checks without any record on the municipality books.

New Car, Trip to Eilat

When the financial irregularities were made known, the muncipality **charge d'affairs** called in the two employees to ask what had happened. Suheil Laham signed a confession that he had bought a JD600 car, spent IS12,000 to take his wife to Eilat and spent another JD1000 of cash he had acquired from fake receipts. Laham was asked to return IS25,000 as an advance with the rest to be collected when auditors calculate the exact amount missing. Later, as new irregularities were discovered, Laham was asked to return to the municipal treasury more money. He actually paid back a total of JD 320 and IS 22,000.

Khalil denied any irregularity, but finally returned JD100. At the conclusion of the audit, the municipality took legal action against the two employees. The municipality also plans to place an ad in the local papers telling residents to hold onto any receipts they have.

If convicted, the two former employees could face up to three years in prison. They may also be sued for a return of the rest of the money once the exact amount embezzled has been determined.

Excerpts from Kahan Commission Report

The Kahan commission report came out February 8 to general acclaim in Israeli and international circles. We excerpt from it, verbatim, the findings of personal responsibility against Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin and Defence Minister Ariel Sharon. The commission's detailed examination of their role, and that of several other senior political and military figures, gives a stark picture of the way a small group's 'ignorance' of the character of the Phalange and ability to avoid reports of the burgeoning massacre led to disaster. (Emphasis and information in brackets is ours).

SHARON

"The blunders constitute non-fulfillment of duty"

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY
INTO THE EVENTS AT THE REFUGEE CAMPS
IN BEIRUT
1983

FINAL REPORT

(AUTHORIZED TRANSLATION)

YITZHAK KAHAN, President of the Supreme Court, Commission Chairman
AHARON BARAK, Justice of the Supreme Court
YONA EFRAT, Major General (Res.), Israel Defense Forces

BEGIN

"For two days (Begin) showed absolutely no interest in (Phalangist) activity in the camps."

. . . We are unable to accept the Prime Minister's remarks that he was absolutely unaware of such a danger (if the Phalangist enterered the camps). According to what he himself said, he told the Chief-of-Staff on the night between 14 and 15 September 1982, in explaining the decision to have the IDF occupy positions in West Beirut, that this was being done "in order to protect the Muslims from the vengeance of the Phalangists," and he could well suppose that after the assassination of Bashir, the Phalangists' beloved leader, they would take revenge on the terrorists. The Prime Minister was aware of the mutual massacres committed in Lebanon during the civil war, and of the Phalangists' feelings of hate for the Palestinians, whom the Phalangists held responsible for all the calamities that befell their land. The purpose of the IDF's entry into West Beirut — in order to prevent bloodshed — was also stressed by the Prime Minister in his meeting with Ambassador Draper on 15. 9. 82. We are prepared to believe the Prime Minister that, being preoccupied at the Cabinet session with formulating the resolution, he did not pay heed to the remarks of Minister Levy, which were uttered following lengthy reviews and discussions. However, in view of what has already been noted above regarding foresight and probability of acts of slaughter, we are unable to accept the position of the Prime Minister that no one imagined that what happened was liable to happen, or what follows from his remarks: that this posibility did not have to be foreseen when the decision was taken to have the Phalangists move into the camps.

As noted, the Prime Minister first heard about the Phalangists' entry into the camps about 36 hours after the decision to that effect was taken, and did not learn of the decision until the Cabinet session. When he heard about the Phalangists' entry into the camps, it had already taken place. According to the "rosy" reports the Prime Minister received from the Defense Minister and the Chief-of-Staff, the Prime Minister was entitled to assume at that time that all the operations in West Beirut had been performed in the best possible manner and had been concluded. We believe that in these circumstances it was not incumbent upon the Prime Minister to object to the Phalangists' entry into the camps or to order their removal. On the other hand, we find no reason to exempt the Prime Minister from responsibility for not having evinced, during or after the Cabinet session, any interest in the Phalangists' actions in the camps. It has already been noted above that no report about the Phalangists' operations reached the Prime Minister, except perhaps for the complaint regarding the Gaza Hospital, until he heard the BBC broadcast towards evening on Saturday. For two days after the Prime Minister heard about the Phalangists' entry, he showed absolutely no interest in their actions in the camps. This indifference would have been justifiable if we were to accept the Prime Minister's position that it was impossible and unnecessary to foresee the possibility that the Phalangists would commit acts of revenge; but we have already explained above that according to what the Prime Minister knew, according to what he heard in the Thursday cabinet session, and according to what he said about the purpose of the move into Beirut, such a possibility was not unknown to him. It may be assumed that a manifestation of interest by him in this matter, after he had learned of the Phalangists' entry, would have increased the alertness of the Defense Minister and the Chief-of-Staff to the need to take appropriate measures to meet the expected danger. **The Prime Minister's lack of involvement in the entire matter** casts on him a certain degree of responsibility.

The Minister of Defense, Mr. Ariel Sharon

. . . As a politician responsible for Israel's security affairs, and as a Minister who took an active part in directing the political and military moves in the war in Lebanon, it was the duty of the Defense Minister to take into account all the reasonable considerations for and against having the Phalangists enter the camps, and not to disregard entirely the serious consideration mitigating against such an action, namely that the Phalangists were liable to commit atrocities and that it was necessary to forestall this possibility as a humanitarian obligation and also to prevent the political damage it would entail. From the Defence Minister himself we know that this consideration did not concern him in the least, and that this matter, with all its ramifications, was neither discussed nor examined in the meetings and discussions held by the Defense Minister. In our view, the Minister of Defense made a grave mistake when he ignored the danger of acts of revenge and bloodshed by the Phalangists against the population in the refugee camps.

. . . We shall not dwell here on what steps might have been taken; this we shall consider below. Regarding the responsibility of the Minister of Defense, it is sufficient to assert that he issued no order to the IDF to adopt suitable measures. Similarly, in his meetings with the Phalangist commanders, the Defense Minister made no attempt to point out to them the gravity of the danger that their men would commit acts of slaughter. Although it is not certain that remarks to this effect by the Defense Minister would have prevented the acts of massacre, they might have had an effect on the Phalangist commanders who, out of concern for their political interests, would have imposed appropriate supervision over their people and seen to it that they did not exceed regular combat operations. It was related above that a few hours after the Phalangists entered the camps, soldiers at the site asked what do to do with the people who had fallen into their hands, and the replies they were given not only did not bar them from harming those people but even urged them to do so. It is a highly reasonable assumption that had the commanders who gave that reply heard from the Defense Minister or from higher Phalangist commanders a clear and explicit order barring harm to civilians and spelling out the damage this was liable to cause the Phalangists, their reply to these questions would have been different.

Had it become clear to the Defense Minister that no real supervision could be exercised over the Phalangist force that entered the camps with the IDF's assent, his duty would have been to prevent their entry. The usefulness of the Phalangists' entry into the camps was wholly disproportionate to the damage their entry could cause if it were uncontrolled. A good many people who heard about the Phalangists' entry into the camps were aware of this even before the first reports arrived about the massacre. The Chief-of-Staff in effect also held the same opinion, as emerges from his reply to a question whether he would have issued orders for additional measures to be taken or would have sufficed with the steps that were in fact taken, had it been expected that the Phalangists would commit excess. He replied as follows (p.1677):

"No, if I had expected that this was liable to happen, or if someone had warned me that this was liable to happen, they would not have entered the camps."

In reply to another question, whether he would have taken additional measures, the Chief-of-Staff said:

"They would not have entered the camps; I would not have allowed them to enter the camps."

Asked if he would not have allowed the Phalangists to enter the camps despite the aim of having them operate together with the IDF and spare the IDF losses, the Chief-of-Staff replied:

"Then maybe we should have acted differently, by closing the camps, by surrounding them, or bringing them to surrender in another week or in another few days, or shelling them with all our might from the air and with artillery. As for me, if I had anticipated that this is what would happen, or if such a warning had been given, they would not have entered the camps."

. . . We do not accept the contention that the Defense Minister did not need to fear that the Phalangists would commit acts of killing because in all outward aspects they looked like a disciplined and organized army. It could not be inferred from the Phalangists' orderly military organization that their attitude toward human life and to the non-combatant population had basically changed. It might perhaps be inferred from their military organizations that the soldiers would heed the orders of their commanders and not break discipline; but at the very least, care should have been taken that the commanders were imbued with the awareness that no excesses were to be committed and that they give their men unequivocal orders to this effect. The routine warnings that IDF commanders issued to the Phalangists, which were of the same kind as were routinely issued to IDF troops, could not have a had any concrete effect.

We shall remark here that it is ostensibly puzzling that the Defense Minister did not in any way make the Prime Minister privy to the decision on having the Phalangists enter the camps.

It is our view that responsibility is to be imputed to the Minister of Defense for having disregarded the danger of acts of vengeance and bloodshed by the Phalangists against the population of the refugee camps, and having failed to take this danger into account when he decided to have the Phalangists enter the camps. In addition, responsibility is to be imputed to the Minister of Defense for not ordering appropriate measures for preventing or reducing the danger of massacre as a condition for the Phalangist's entry into the camps. **These blunders constitute the non-fulfillment of a duty with which the Defense Minister was charged.**